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PUBLICATIONS OF THE IMMIGRATION
RESTRICTION LEAGUE

published by

IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION
LEAGUE

Boston, Mass.
1894-1920



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PUBLICATIONS OF THE IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION LEAGUE. NO. 1

The Present Aspect
of the
Immigration Problem.

—t—

Robert De C. Ward.

PUBLISHED BY THE

Immigration Restriction
League

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THE PRESENT ASPECT

—OF THE—

IMMIGRATION PROBLEM.*

There is no subject of national importance about which so much has been written and of which so little is generally known as the immigration question. In view of the fact that attention has again been turned to this subject by reason of the formation of the "Immigration Restriction League" of Boston, an account of our immigration laws, of their working, and of the changes that should be made in them, seems particularly opportune at the present time.

Statistics of Immigration.

It is an essential to the intelligent consideration of this subject, that we should have some idea of the numbers of immigrants who have come and who are coming to this country, and the effects of this immigration. Before 1820 no record of immigration was kept, but probably about 250,000 persons came to the United States between the close of the Revolution and that time. From 1820 to 1892, inclusive, the number of immigrants was 16,497,096, the bulk of them being from Great Britain and Ireland, Germany and Scandinavia. It should be distinctly noted that the quality of this immigration has, until within the last few years, been high, and that the people who have come in the greatest numbers have been akin to the American race in language or in origin, and have, therefore, been capable of ready assimilation.

The number of immigrants we have received during the past four years are as follows:—

*This article is re-printed, with some slight changes, from *The Charities Review*, for June 1894. It originally appeared, in a somewhat different form and under another title, in the *Boston Commonwealth* for July 15th, 1893.

	1891.	
Austria-Hungary		71,042
Russia and Poland,		74,923
Italy,		76,055

	1892	
Austria-Hungary,		76,937
Russia and Poland.		122,047
Italy,		61,631

	1893.	
Austria-Hungary,		57,420
Russia and Poland,		58,684
Italy,		72,145

The decrease in immigration for 1893 was due, as has been stated above, principally to the quarantine regulations. It was not the result of more stringent immigration laws.

The general financial depression which has existed during 1893 and 1894 has had a marked effect in decreasing the numbers of our immigrants since June 30, 1893. There are two ways in which such a time of depression acts to cause a slackening of the tide of immigration. In the first place, many of those immigrants who are already in our country find themselves unable to pay the passage of their relatives or friends to the United States, and so many who would otherwise come are obliged to stay at home. In the second place, the news gets abroad that it is difficult to obtain work in this country, and many are thus deterred from leaving home. Yet in spite of this strong check which is acting at present, immigration has by no means "practically come to a standstill," as a recent writer (Dr. J. H. Senner, "How we restrict Immigration," *N. Am. Rev.*, April, 1894, 494-499,) would have us believe. Between June 30 and December 31, 1893, there landed at New York alone over 150,000 immigrants, the numbers who came during October, November and December being as follows:

1890 *	455,302
1891 *	560,319
1892 *	579,663
1893 *	440,793

*For the fiscal year ending June 30th.

It will be noted that the immigration for 1893 fell below that for the preceding year by about 140,000. The reason for this decrease is manifest, for during the winter months of 1892-93 immigration was practically suspended, owing to the strict quarantine regulations.

Nationalities of Recent Immigrants.

These figures serve to give some idea of the extent to which this country has been populated from the outside, and it must be plain to every one that it would be a stupendous task for this mass of people to be assimilated and Americanized even if they were all of a related stock, such as the English, the Irish, the Germans or the Scandinavians. When, however, we come to look at the races which have been contributing largely and in increasing proportion to our immigration during the last few years, we see how much more difficult the problem becomes. Our immigration has, until lately, been chiefly made up of the most intelligent and of the most desirable races of Europe, but recently the numbers have greatly increased of those who are without question the most illiterate and the most depraved people of that continent. A few figures will make this plain.

The numbers of immigrants from Austria-Hungary, Russia and Poland and Italy in 1890, 1891, 1892 and 1893 are as follows:

1890.	
Austria-Hungary,	56,199
Russia and Poland,	46,671
Italy,	52,003

October,	15,466*
November,	12,345*
December,	11,415*

*Dr. Senner's figures.

This is at the rate of over 400 per day on the average for the three months.

The arrivals during the first three months of 1894 were in round numbers, 40,000.

It has been seen, from the foregoing figures that the percentage of increase of the worst elements in our immigration is very great, and indeed it is much greater than that of the better classes, although immigration of all kinds has been increasing, except for the present temporary check, at an alarming rate. In this recent and most pronounced change in the race lines of our immigration lies a very great danger to this Republic, and at the present rate of this increase the bulk of our immigration will very soon no longer be made up of peoples which can be readily assimilated with us.

Immigrants and Crime.

Having spoken briefly of the numbers and nationalities of our immigrants, we must mention some of their influences. We do not speak of the millions of thrifty immigrants who have settled here, have built up our country and have become patriotic American citizens. It is with the lower and criminal classes that we have to deal. The evils resulting from this kind of immigration are very numerous. One of the greatest is the enormous increase in the number of criminals in this country, which can be traced directly to the growth of the lower foreign elements in our midst. According to the census of 1880, the foreign-born element, although constituting less than one-seventh of the population, furnished more than one-third of the paupers.

The census of 1890 shows that persons of foreign birth and parentage make up 38 per cent, or somewhat over one-

third of our total white population. THIS ONE-THIRD FURNISHES MORE THAN ONE HALF OF OUR CRIMINALS, NEARLY TWO-THIRDS OF THE INMATES OF OUR REFORMATORIES, AND NEARLY TWO THIRDS OF THE PAUPERS IN OUR ALMSHOUSES.

Illiteracy of Immigrants.

The illiteracy of the immigrants we are now receiving in great numbers is a source of imminent danger to the country. In every hundred foreigners over sixteen years of age, who came here from February 1 to October 31, 1892, there were the following number of illiterates, according to the countries from which the immigrants came: England, ten; Ireland, eight; Wales, six; Germany, two; Scandinavian countries and Denmark, less than one; Poland, fifty-six; Italy, sixty-six; Hungary, twenty-eight; Russia proper, twenty.

Of the 440,793 immigrants who came to this country in the year ending June 30, 1893, 57,897 OVER 16 YEARS OF AGE COULD NOT READ; 58,582 COULD NOT WRITE, AND 61,038 COULD NEITHER READ NOR WRITE.

This danger from illiteracy is still further aggravated by the fact that many of our recent immigrants do not try to assimilate with us or become Americanized, but live in colonies by themselves, speaking their own language and keeping all their own customs, unaffected by the higher civilization around them. The safety of this country depends upon our assimilating and Americanizing all these heterogeneous elements, but the process of assimilation must become slower and more difficult as the foreign element increases, and as it thus tends to keep more and more by itself. Time fails to do more than mention the harm

done by the foreign ideas and customs, imported into this country from the slums of Europe, in the morals and in the sanitary condition of our larger cities, and in such distinctly un-American and in the highest degree dangerous occurrences as the Haymarket massacre at Chicago, and the Mafia incident at New Orleans.

The serious riots that have taken place among the miners in Pennsylvania during the past winter were instigated and carried out by foreigners, especially Slavs, Huns, Italians and Poles. In such circumstances as these the Anglo-Saxon element has been almost unanimously on the side of law and order. Such evils may be directly traced to the influence of the lower classes of immigrants.

Immigration and the unemployed.

The evils of unemployment are perhaps best seen and most fully realized at such a period of financial depression as that through which we have been passing. It seems almost unnecessary to point out the connection that this immigration problem has with the question of the "unemployed." Although we have far more unemployed here than we can take care of, our gates are still wide open, and the stream of immigration, partly checked, it is true, by the temporary financial depression, but still of no mean size, has continued to flow on. There can be no need of stating, what everyone must see at once, that every shipload of immigrants landed on our shores from day to day increases the number of the unemployed, the competition for work and the burden which our philanthropic citizens have to bear.

Our Immigration Laws.

Having now seen something of the vast numbers of our immigrants and of the increasing proportion of the lowest

and most harmful classes, we shall turn next to an examination of our existing immigration laws, in order to see whether or not they are sufficiently stringent. The main law, which is now in force, was approved March 3, 1891. The first and chief section of this law debars from landing "All idiots, insane persons, paupers, or persons likely to become a public charge, persons suffering from a loathsome or a dangerous contagious disease, persons who have been convicted of a felony or other infamous crime or misdemeanor involving moral turpitude, polygamists, and also any person whose ticket or passage is paid for with the money of another, or who is assisted by others to come, unless it is affirmatively and satisfactorily shown on special inquiry that such person does not belong to one of the foregoing excluded classes, or to the class of contract laborers. . . ." This section does not exclude persons in the United States from sending for a relative or friend who is not of the excluded classes. This law also provides that an alien who shall become a public charge within one year after his arrival shall be returned to the country from which he came: In addition to these classes of persons, contract laborers are debarred under the Contract Labor law of Feb. 26, 1885. The new law, of March, 3, 1893, names no additional classes of persons to be excluded, although the general impression is to the contrary. It simply provides for the making out of manifests at the port of embarkation, containing answers to a number of questions to be put to each intending emigrant, as to name, age, sex, occupation, etc. These manifests are to be signed or sworn to by the masters or officers of the steamers bringing the immigrants, the officers having to swear that, so far as they know, none of their passengers are of the excluded classes. These oaths are taken before the American consul at the port of

departure, the object of the law being to prevent the embarkation of any persons who ought to be debarred here.

This new law adds a little more "red tape," but as it does not increase the number of the excluded classes it cannot be expected to sensibly diminish the quantity or greatly to improve the quality of our immigration.

These are, in a few words, the present immigration laws. Now the question arises: How have these laws done their work? During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1892, 2,801 persons were returned as having come to this country in violation of the law. When we consider that the total number who came was nearly 600,000, we see at once that the number of persons debarred was absurdly small, and cannot have begun to include all those who really came in violation of the law. Of the 2,801 who were sent back, 932 were contract laborers, who in most cases are skilled workmen, are well educated, and would without question make desirable citizens and be a distinct gain to the country. This leaves the number of 1,869 persons who were returned because they were idiots, paupers, insane persons, persons liable to become a public charge, 'assisted' emigrants, etc. 1,869 out of nearly 600,000! Can any one, in the light of these figures, think that we have sufficient restriction? Of the 440,793 who came in 1893 but 1063 were debarred for special causes, and 577 were returned to the countries from which they came by reason of their having become public charges within a year after their arrival. In all, therefore, only 1640 were debarred. Is it to be supposed that these few, out of all the hundreds of thousands who came, included all the persons who were undesirable for this country in accordance with the provisions of the law? Can we for one single instant believe that the quality of our immigrants was so high that we only had to turn back these few

out of that whole vast army. The number from every one must be. No.

How the Laws Should be Changed.

It is, therefore, clear that, under our present immigration laws, while we are receiving an enormous number of immigrants, we can only keep out a very few of the thousands of undesirable persons who must be coming to us in this great stream. Even with the addition of the new law of March 3, 1893, it will not be possible to keep out nearly all those persons who are debarred by law, for no such cursory examination, as is given by the steamship people in Europe, or by the inspectors here, can determine in every case whether or not a man is a criminal, or a polygamist, or an assisted emigrant. The question then naturally arises, What changes are expedient in these laws? That we have now to consider. Among the various suggestions that have been made regarding further legislation on the matter of restricted immigration, there are three plans which commend themselves especially, and these we shall briefly review here. The first proposition is that every immigrant shall be obliged to pay a certain sum of money on landing; the second, that we shall require an educational test; the third, that every immigrant shall procure a consular certificate at his port of embarkation. These are commonly known as the head-tax, the educational qualification, and the consular certificate plans. Let us examine each one separately, beginning with the head-tax.

The Head Tax.

Under the present law every immigrant is supposed to pay a tax of fifty cents, but this is paid by the steamship companies and is, of course, no check to immigration. The suggestion that we shall levy a substantial tax of \$25 or \$30 a head on every immigrant has much to commend it.



to the first class, it would make the expense of coming to this country from Europe as great as, or greater than that which would be incurred in going from Europe to South America, Australia, or Africa. At present, with the low rates of first-class passage to the United States, this country is the cheapest place for the emigrant from Europe to get to. Secondly, if the immigrant were able to pay such a sum it would be an evidence of his industrious and frugal habits, and, therefore, of his probable usefulness as a resident of this country. Thirdly, it is not too much to ask that, for the great advantages which this country has over every other, the *bona fide* settler in it should be obliged to pay something substantial. This tax would suit us every nationality alike: it would be a simple provision to enforce, and would, without doubt, ~~exclude some~~ exclude some of the worst immigrants. It may be urged that it would also keep out many highly desirable persons who have the misfortune to be very poor. This would doubtless be true in some cases, but the answer may be made, let those honest and industrious persons remain a little longer in their own or in some European country, until they have earned enough money to pay the tax, and then let them come to us.

The Educational Test.

The second plan is the educational test. It has been suggested that we should require of every immigrant knowledge of the English language, but this is evidently unjust. By this plan many thousands of honest and industrious persons would be kept out who might have had no chance to learn English, and yet who would, after a few years in this country, make good American citizens. The other suggestion under this plan is to have the immigrant tested as to his ability to read and write his own language. This is much more just than the first suggestion and is

much to commend it. We have already seen to what an extent Hungarians, Poles, Italians and Russians are coming to this country, and we know that they are most undesirable immigrants. Now if the educational test were to be applied and it could easily be enforced, we should exclude about half of the immigrants of these nationalities, leaving only those who, having some knowledge of letters, might be expected to develop into intelligent citizens in the course of time. The objection to the educational test alone is that the fact that a man can read and write is no evidence that he is honest, or that he can support himself, or that he will make a desirable addition to the country. This Government, which depends directly upon the people, must have education and intelligence on the part of its citizens if it is to be preserved. We insist on the careful education of our children; our public schools are the admiration of the world; and is it not reasonable that we should require of all who come to live among us at least the ability to read and write their own language, if not ours? Newspapers printed in almost every known tongue are published in the United States, and they all contain more or less information about the country and its government, so that no immigrant who can read need remain in entire ignorance of us and of our institutions.

The educational test is the most American of the proposed restrictions, for as our schools are distinctly American, so also would our educational requirement for admission to this country be a distinctly American measure.

Consular Certificates.

Lastly, we come to the proposition that every immigrant shall, some time before embarking, apply to the nearest United States consul for a certificate, to be delivered when he lands on our shores. This certificate is to show that the



Study These Figures

—AND—

Draw Your Own Conclusions.

Recent Changes in the Nationality of Immigrants.

(Specially prepared for the League from Quarterly Report Bureau Statistics No. 2, Series 1892-1893).

	<i>Immigrants from Austria-Hungary, Italy, Poland and Russia.</i>	<i>Immigrants from United Kingdom, France, Germany and Scandinavia.</i>
1869	3,515	260,083
1880	36,812	292,903
1886	71,734	240,770
1887	124,781	332,748
1890	154,873	262,749
1891	222,020	292,059
1892	259,967	312,502
1893*	188,149	212,169
1894†	120,587	161,950

* Cholera Year.

† Panic Year.

	<i>Per cent of immigrants from Austria-Hungary, Italy, Poland and Russia, to total immigration.</i>	<i>Per cent of immigrants from United Kingdom, France, Germany and Scandinavia, to total immigration.</i>
1869	0.9	73.8
1880	8.5	64.5
1890	34.0	57.7
1891	39.6	52.1
1892	44.8	53.9
1893	42.7	48.2
1894	38.7	52.0

NOTE:—In 1869 the immigrants from Austria-Hungary, Italy, Russia and Poland, were about 1-100th of the number from the United Kingdom, France, Germany and Scandinavia; in 1880 about 1-10th; in 1894, nearly equal to it. In 1889-93 the former class amounted to 934,395 or 37.6 per cent of the total immigration.

Immigration into United States by Decades 1820 to 1890.

(From the report of the Supt. of Immigration for the year ending June 30, 1892.)

1820—1830	128,393
1830—1840	539,391
1840—1850	1,423,337
1850—1860	2,799,423
1860—1870	1,964,061 [The War Period.]
1870—1880	2,834,040
1880—1890	5,246,613

The yearly average, 1880-1890 was 524,661. Immigration 1880-1890 was 35.1 per cent of the entire arrivals in U. S. 1820-1890.

Immigration by Years from 1885.

1885	295,310
1886	334,203
1887	490,109
1888	546,881
1889	444,427
1890	455,302
1891	560,319
1892	579,663
1893	440,793 [The Cholera Year.]
1894	311,404 [The Panic Year.]

NOTE:—Even the figures for 1894 give an average arrival of 853 immigrants per day.

Foreign Element in United States.

(From United States Census.)

	<i>Total Population.</i>	<i>Total Persons of Foreign Birth.</i>
1860	31,443,321	4,138,697
1870	38,558,371	5,567,229
1880	50,155,783	6,679,943
1890	62,622,250	9,249,547

In 1860 the foreign born were 13.16 per cent of the total population. In 1870 they were 14.44 per cent; in 1880, 13.32 per cent; and in 1890, 14.77 per cent.

	<i>Native Persons having one or both parents Foreign.</i>	<i>Total Persons of Foreign Birth or Foreign Parentage.</i>
1870	5,324,786	10,892,015
1880	8,276,053	14,955,996
1890	11,503,675	20,753,222

In 1870 the total foreign element was 28.2 per cent of the total population. In 1880 it was 29.8, and in 1890, 33.1 per cent.

If only the white population of the U. S. is reckoned, then in 1890 17 per cent of the total white were foreign born; 38 per cent were either foreign born or of foreign parentage.

Distribution of Immigrants.

It is said that there is plenty of room in this country in the West on farms and ranches to receive an unlimited number of immigrants of whatever character they may be.

In considering this subject the following figures are of interest: From Bureau of Statistics, Quarterly Abstract No. 1, 1891, total foreign born population of 9,470,542 in 1890. (1890) Total of them were found in the 124 principal cities of the U. S.

Of Persons born in	Norway,	20.8%	live in	Cities.
" " " "	England,	40.7	" " "	
" " " "	Germany,	47.7	" " "	
" " " "	Ireland,	55.9	" " "	
" " " "	Poland,	57.1	" " "	
" " " "	Russia,	57.9	" " "	
" " " "	Italy,	58.8	" " "	

Insane.

	1880	1890
Total Insane in U. S.	91,997	106,254
Total Native White,	59,494	64,419
Total Foreign Born,	26,346	35,300

Thus in 1880, 28.8 per cent of total insane persons were foreign born. In 1890, 33.2 per cent were foreign born. So that a foreign born population which is only 14.77 of the total population, furnishes 1-3 of all the insane in the U. S.

Prisoners.

NOTE:—The census of 1890, Part II, p. 169, says: "Taking into account only the 105,885 parents whose nationality is known, 43.19 per cent of crime committed by white persons in the U. S. is chargeable to native white. 56.81 per cent to foreign element."

	<i>Census of 1880.</i>	<i>Census of 1890.</i>
Total Prisoners in U. S.	59,255	82,329
Total White Prisoners,	42,294	57,310
Native White Prisoners,	29,377	40,471
Foreign Born Prisoners,	12,917	15,932

By census of 1890, Part II, p. 182, number of native born white convicts in penitentiaries was 12,842; number of foreign born or with foreign parentage was 15,598 or 54 per cent of the total. Thus a foreign born and foreign parent population which is 38 per cent of the total white population, furnishes over 1-2 of the white convicts of the U. S.

Paupers.

NOTE:—The census of 1890, Part II, p. 174, says: "Taking into account only 108,802 parents whose nationality is known, 41.56 per cent of white inmates in the almshouses of the U. S. is native white. 58.44 per cent is of foreign element."

	<i>Census of 1880.</i>	<i>Census of 1890.</i>
Total Paupers in U. S.	67,067	73,045
Total White Paupers,	61,316	66,578
Total Native White,	38,349	36,646
Total Foreign Born,	22,961	27,648

Thus in 1880, 37.4 per cent of total white paupers were foreign born. In 1890, 41.5 per cent were foreign born.

Thus a foreign population which is 17 per cent of the total white population, furnishes nearly ONE HALF of the white paupers in the U. S.

NOTE:—As bearing on assimilation of Immigrants.

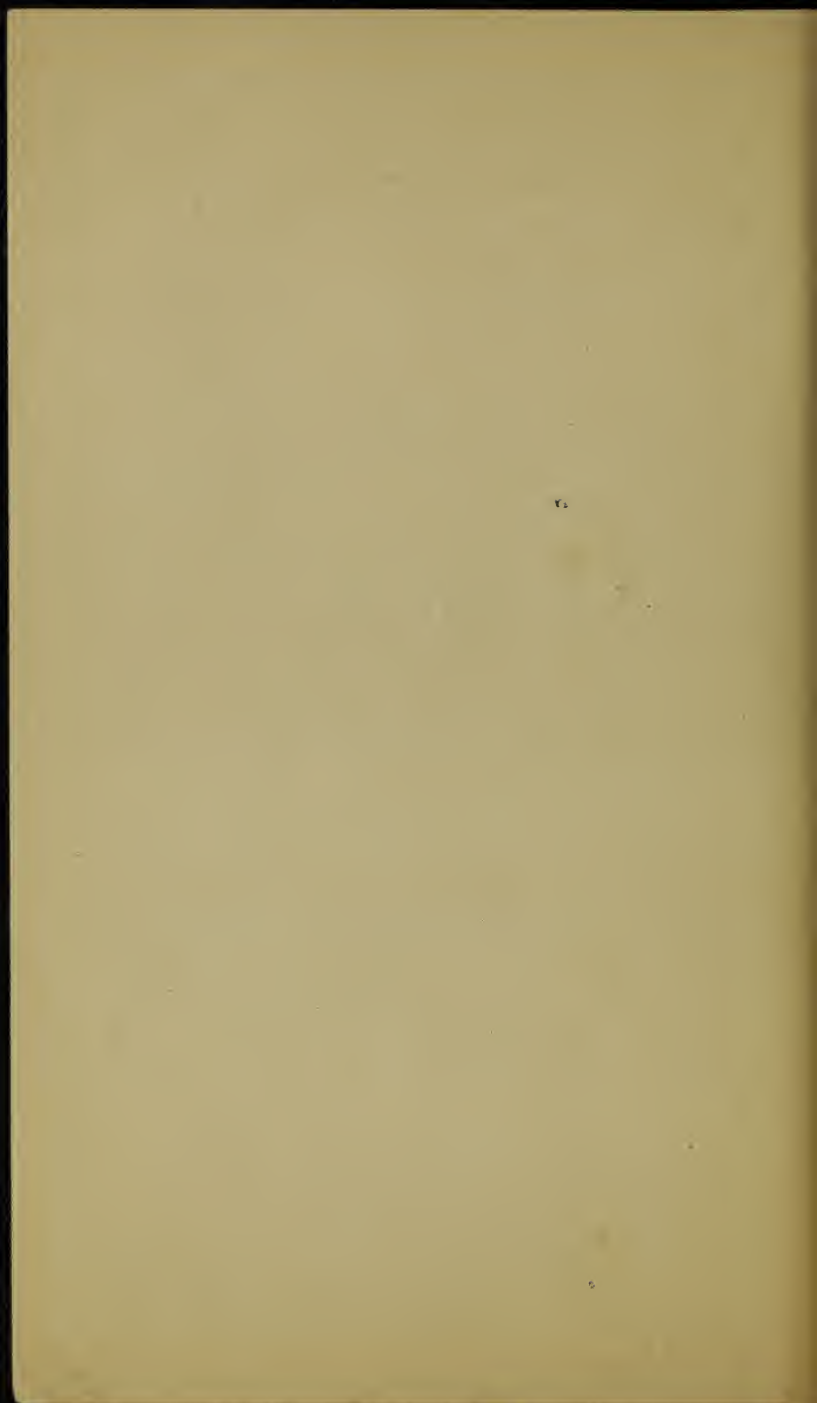
By census of 1890, part II, p. 683, out of the total foreign born males, over 21 years of age, 32.8 per cent were not naturalized; i. e. nearly 1-3 of the foreign adult males are not citizens. And out of the total male population of the U. S. over 21 years of age, 7 per cent are aliens. Of the 1,189,452 aliens in the U. S. 32.6 per cent do not speak English.

For Publications and Membership in the League apply to the Secretary, 428 Exchange Building, Boston.

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PUBLICATIONS OF THE IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION LEAGUE. NO. 3.

Various
Facts and Opinions
CONCERNING THE
Necessity of
Restricting Immigration.
PUBLISHED BY THE
Immigration Restriction
League.

1894.



Various Facts and Opinions Concerning the Necessity of Re- stricting Immigration.

[This publication has been compiled for the League chiefly from articles which have appeared in various magazines and publications during the last four years. It is intended to bring together by this means a few of the important words contributed to the discussion of the immigration question by statesmen, philanthropists, workers in charities, and practical business men. It is very unlikely that many persons have read all the articles and reports from which these extracts are taken, and some may have failed to realize the number of men prominent in public affairs, or in their study of these problems, who have spoken earnestly and often to urge the adoption of measures to protect the national character.]

Party Platforms.

[REPUBLICAN NATIONAL PLATFORM, JUNE, 1892.]

"We favor the enactment of more stringent laws and regulations for the restriction of criminal, pauper, and contract immigration."

[DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL PLATFORM, JUNE, 1892.]

"We heartily approve all legitimate efforts to prevent the United States from being used as the dumping ground for the known criminals and professional paupers of Europe, and we demand the rigid enforcement of the law against Chinese immigration or the importation of foreign work-

men under contract to degrade American labor and lessen the wages, but we condemn and denounce any and all attempts to restrict the immigration of the industrious and worthy of foreign lands."

[PROHIBITION NATIONAL PLATFORM, JUNE, 1892.]

"Foreign immigration has become a burden upon industry, one of the factors in depressing wages, and causing discontent; therefore our immigration laws should be revised and strictly enforced."

[FROM PRESIDENT HARRISON'S MESSAGE, DEC. 6th, 1892.]

"This consideration [danger from cholera], as well as those affecting the political, moral and industrial interests of our country, lead me to renew the suggestion that admission to our country and to the high privileges of its citizenship should be more restricted and more careful. We have, I think, a right and owe a duty to our own people and especially to our working people, not only to keep out the vicious, the ignorant, the civil disturber, the pauper and the contract laborer, but to check the too great flow of immigration now coming by further limitations."

The Nation's Duty Toward Her Citizens.

[VERNON R. ANDREW, in *American Journal of Politics*, Vol. iii, October, 1893, p. 427.]

"Every honest citizen of the United States would rejoice to know that the whole world enjoyed the same blessings and privileges as are permitted to those who dwell beneath the liberty-loving folds of the "stars and stripes." But in the present condition of the world it is impossible for all to enjoy these privileges and the question we are now called upon as a nation, to decide, is this: "Is it our duty to sacrifice the welfare of our own citizens in attempting to

better the condition of the citizens of other nations?" It is essential to the welfare of any nation that the great mass of its citizens should be as highly educated as possible, but in a government such as our own, where the people both make the laws and select their own agents for enforcing them, it becomes an absolute necessity of the continued existence of that government that the great majority of the people should be sufficiently educated to take a comprehensive and judicious view of all questions relating to the national welfare."

P. 428. "The American workingman has far more to fear from his foreign-born brother than his mere competition in the labor market. The foreigners who have come to us in the past, and many of whom are numbered among our best and most respected citizens, ought to be among the last to oppose a law restricting foreign immigration. They belonged to a different element from those who are deluging our country at the present time. . . . But if this tide of immigration is not stemmed, their labors will have been in vain."

Our National Dumping Ground.

[CHARLES STEWART SMITH, President of the New York Chamber of Commerce, in *North American Review*, Vol. 154, April, 1892, p. 437.]

"The danger to our institutions does not come from the anarchists and bomb-throwers. We can rely upon the operation of the law and police vigilance to protect society from these pestilent fellows, and Chicago justice has settled this question for some years to come; there is, however, a real and permanent danger to this country in the continued influx of so large a proportion of ignorant masses, for, as stated by an ex-president of the Board of Education

of New York City: 'Four-fifths of all our criminals are uneducated, and it costs \$29.40 per annum to educate a child in a grammar school in this city, and \$110 per annum to maintain a criminal in the penitentiary.'

The Restriction of Immigration.

[HON. HENRY CABOT LODGE, U. S. Senator from Massachusetts, in *North American Review*, Vol. 152, January, 1891, p. 32.]

"It is proved first, that immigration to this country is increasing, and second, that it is making its greatest relative increase from races most alien to the body of the American people and from the lowest and most illiterate among those races. In other words, it is apparent that while our immigration is increasing it is showing at the same time a marked tendency to deteriorate in character."

Lynch Law and Unrestricted Immigration.

[The same, in *North American Review*, May, 1891, p. 611.]

"There are great States in the West and Southwest naturally anxious to have their lands occupied and their population increased, but there is something more important than rapidity of settlement or the quick development of wealth. These advantages will be dearly bought if we pay for them a price which involves the lowering of the standard of American citizenship. More important to a country than wealth and population is the quality of its people."

Methods of Restricting Immigration.

[HON. WM. E. CHANDLER, U. S. Senator from New Hampshire, in the *Forum*, Vol. XIII, March, 1892, p. 133.]

“It must be apparent to every candid and patriotic American, whatever may be his politics, that there is cause for alarm, and that there is real danger, if hordes of degraded foreigners, accustomed to work for 10 and 20 cents per day, are to be allowed to swarm into our country, fill the avenues to employment, and reduce the wages of labor to the standard of the countries they have left, and in addition are to be naturalized and become voters without regard to legal conditions. There ought to be no political differences to prevent a united demand for an honest, faithful and effective enforcement of our present immigration and naturalization laws, and for all helpful additions thereto which can be devised.”

The Immigration Question.

[JOHN H. NOBLE, in *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. VII, June, 1892, p. 234.]

“Some strength of purpose was [formerly] required in the immigrant, while now nothing is needed but discontent with his lot at home and the few dollars that procure a passage. When the opportunity was dearly bought, it was more likely to be appreciated and improved; while now swarms of miserable people crowd blindly into this country without plans or purpose, and when officially questioned can name as their destination only the port of landing.”

Studies in Immigration: The Mine Laborers in Pennsylvania.

[HENRY ROOD, in the *Forum*, Vol. XIV, September, 1892, p. 114.]

“When a stranger visits the anthracite regions [of Pennsylvania] he is filled with sympathy for the poor Italian and Slav. He considers the American residents heartless in the extreme. He is amazed at the way the foreigners are

regarded. But a single year spent in that land will show him the truth, no matter how tender hearted he is. He will then know that disgust should take the place of surprise. He sees a thousand idle Americans and a like number of foreigners slaving for eighty or ninety cents per day. He sees the Americans sending their children to school, supporting churches, living in decent houses, trying to be cleanly and to wear presentable clothing. He also sees the scum of Europe taking the place of the former, content to swarm in shanties like hogs, to contract scurvy by a steady diet of the cheapest salt pork, to suffer sore eyes and bodies rather than buy a towel and wash-tub, to endure typhoid fever rather than undergo the expense of the most primitive sanitary apparatus."

Immigration of Aliens.

[ARNOLD WHITE, in *The Charities Review*, Vol. III, December, 1893, p. 75.]

"The refugees from economic conditions that are insupportable, do not gain, and still less impart, the liberty they seek, when they are accompanied by the very conditions from which they fly. To exchange the religious serfdom to the Czar for the economic serfdom of the sweating master is at least a doubtful advantage to the serf himself. But when he spreads the contagion of serfdom in his new home, the hour has struck for the rulers of a free people to look first to the welfare of their own people and their own race, before admitting the inefficient surplus of a lower nation."

[Same. p. 73.] "For all nations there are other and nobler traditions which bear upon the nearer duties of regard to brothers in blood, color, race, before exercising vicarious hospitality to strangers without racial claim to generosity at the expense of justice to their own people."

[Same, p. 77.] "The grounds for excluding unsuitable immigrants from America and England are :

1. The degradation of the racial type.
2. The unfair competition forced upon the class of unskilled wage-earners who are too poor and too numerous to combine against unscrupulous capitalists.
3. The lowering of the standard of life among the classes with which destitute aliens compete in the unskilled labor market and the consequent contamination of character of the native born.
4. The division of the charity fund from existing national distress.
5. In the case of the Russian Exodus, the free admission of what Mr. N. S. Joseph [Hon. Sec. Russo-Jewish Committee] calls 'chronic incurable paupers.'

Alien Degradation of American Character.

[SYDNEY G. FISHER, in the *Forum*, Vol. XIV, January, 1893, p. 610.]

"It is commonly asserted now that native and foreigner are alike corrupt in politics. But unless we deny the almost universal testimony of fifty years ago, we must believe that during the first half of the present century the native was honest and the foreigner corrupt. If the native is now equally corrupt with the foreigner, from whom did he learn his corruption?"

[Mr. Fisher states that in 1850 there was 1 native pauper in every 317 natives; 1 foreign pauper in every 32 foreigners; 1 native criminal in 1,619 natives and 1 foreign criminal in 154 foreigners.]

[Same, p. 614.] "The modern movement against immigration, if it go on increasing and take definite form, will

have many advantages over the Know Nothingism of 1850. It will avoid the absurdity of being a secret organization and the absurdity of recommending that the foreign born shall never hold political office. It will be entirely free from attacks on the Roman Catholics and all the violence and bitterness which that involved."

Our Country.

JUDGE EMORY SPEER's address before the *Patria Club*, of New York. Reported in the *N. Y. Herald*, Nov. 26, 1892.

"Annually we spend millions to educate the masses, and yet admit hundreds of thousands of the ignorant and degraded whom we can never educate. Therefore, for every trained mind we produce we are presented with another, saturated with the densest ignorance, incompetent to understand our laws, to appreciate the blessings of our citizenship or to comprehend the simplest element of that political virtue which is indispensable to preserve them."

The Immigration Question.

[GEN. N. P. CHIPMAN, in the *Californian Illustrated Magazine*, Vol. V, February, 1894, p. 367.]

"If this ratio of increase continues, the arrivals for the decade ending 1900 will not be less than 7,000,000, and if the increase during the decade ending 1890 over the number for the decade ending 1880 continue, the arrivals will reach 10,000,000."

Gen. Chipman gives the percentage of the increase of the foreign, born in three states, as follows:

	New York.	New Jersey	Pennsylvania.
1870-80	6.42	17.34	7.801
1880-90	29.69	48.39	43.87

The Lesson of The Recent Strikes.

[GEN. NELSON A. MILES, in *North American Review*, Vol. 159, August, 1894, p. 188.]

"As the importation of the vast hordes of cheap labor from China has been stopped on the Pacific coast, is it to the interest of every intelligent laboring man to stop the importation of the vast hordes of cheap and degraded labor unloaded on our Atlantic coast. We have no use for and should not receive any more than what can readily assimilate with our intelligent, self-respecting, industrious population.

[HON. WADE HAMPTON, United States Commissioner of Railroads, in *North American Review*, Vol. 159, August, 1894, p. 190.]

"Of course no reflection is meant on those honest immigrants who have linked their destiny with ours, and who by their labor and their character have done so much to promote the best interests of the country; but it seems to me that our land should no longer be the refuge of the scum of all Europe, and that every man who makes this his home, whatever his nationality may be, should, while holding his fatherland in tender memory, become at heart an American citizen with all his hopes, all his aspirations, all his patriotism centered in the land of his adoption."

Restricted Immigration.

[Speech of HON. ELIJAH A. MORSE, of Massachusetts, in the House of Representatives, Washington, March 2, 1893.]

"A man's first duty is to his own family; second, his duty is to protect and support the community, State and nation in which he lives. It is a question deserving the serious attention of the patriot, philanthropist and statesman as to how far our country can go in incorporating into our body

politic these dangerous and hostile elements that are now coming to these shores. In the name of my constituents I stand in my place and demand that we shall enact radical legislation to stay this tide."

Scandinavians in the Northwest.

[PROF. KENDRIC C. BABCOCK, in the *Forum*, Vol. XIV, September, 1892, p. 103.]

"Every class of immigrants must be judged by its manifest ability to become American speedily, willingly, and thoroughly, in all that that term implies. The more generations there are of ignorance, superstition, thriftlessness, and political passivity stretching out behind him, the more undesirable from every point of view the immigrant becomes. On the other hand, the immigrant whose home land shows a minimum percentage of illiteracy, whose life has been saturated with ideas of thrift and small economies, who holds himself the slave of neither priest, landlord nor king, and whose history, past and passing, is a story of sturdy struggling for independence,—such an immigrant should find welcome and encouragement instead of barriers to his coming."

The Immigration Problem.

[PROF. HJALMAR H. BOYESEN, of Columbia College, in *Boston Sunday Journal*, June 3, 1894.]

"I have often discussed with prominent Europeans the problems which beset our national life, and they have invariably declared that any sort of government would be workable in the United States as long as we were not confronted with that sternest of all problems,—the pressure of our own population. They told me it was madness to encourage immigration. Our present duty is to assimilate and Americanize our vast alien population and to throw every obstacle in the way of immigration until we have accomplished this difficult task."

The Problem of Immigration. Its Dangers to the Future of the United States.

[GEN. JAMES R. O'BERNE, late Assistant U. S. Commissioner of Immigration, in the *New York Independent*, Nov. 2, 1893.]

"I wish I could arouse the American people, native-born and adopted citizens, to a full appreciation of the present and near impending dangers which seem to me to threaten the future stability of the Republic arising from immigration. It is an undeniable fact that many thousands of undesirable immigrants have been and still are admitted to our communities throughout the country. In the first place, the law is too lax and slipshod, the machinery for close and individual examination too loose, and the performance of official duty too careless, indifferent and inefficient to prevent the "undesirable" immigrant from landing on our shores."

The American Commonwealth.

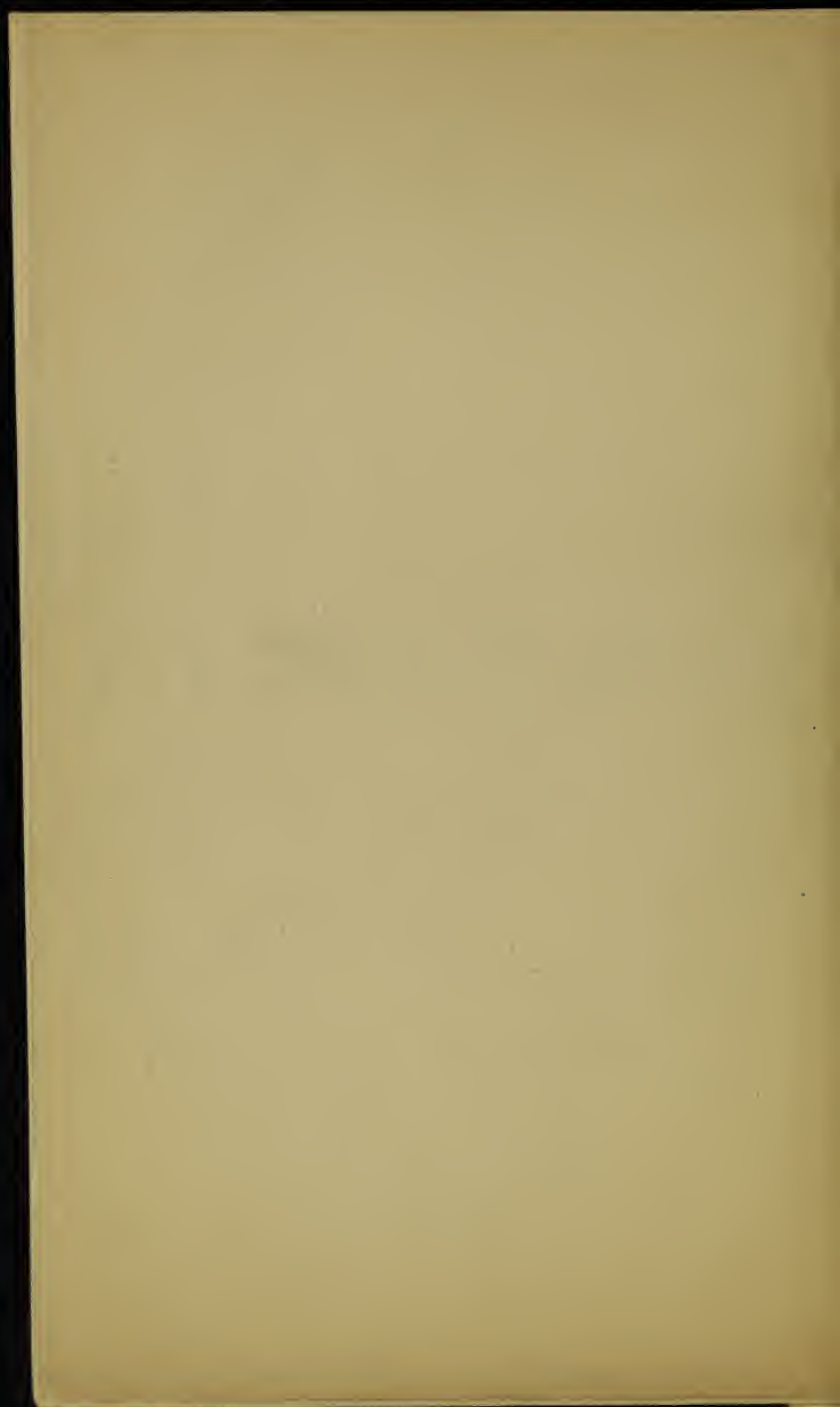
[JAMES BRYCE, *American Commonwealth*, Vol. II, p. 726.]

"Within the last decade new swarms of European immigrants have invaded America, drawn from their homes in the eastern parts of Central Europe by the constant cheapening of ocean transit and by that more thorough drainage, so to speak, of the inland regions of Europe, which is due to the extension of railways. These immigrants, largely of Slavonic race, come from a lower stratum of civilization than the German immigrants of the past, and since they speak foreign tongues, are less quickly amenable to American influences, and probably altogether less improvable than are the Irish. There seems to be a danger that if they continue to come in large numbers they may retain their own low

standard of decency and comfort, and menace the continuance among the working class generally of that far higher standard which has hitherto prevailed in all but a few spots in the country."

NOTE.—*The leading work on the subject is "Emigration and Immigration," by Richmond Mayo-Smith, Professor of Political Economy in Columbia College, published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1890. The whole book will repay a careful reading by all who are interested in the immigration problem.*

FOR PUBLICATIONS OF AND MEMBERSHIP IN THE IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION LEAGUE, ADDRESS THE SECRETARY, 428 EXCHANGE BUILDING, BOSTON.



Latest Figures About Immigration.

(Compiled from Reports of Commissioner-General of Immigration).

Comparison of the Fiscal Years ending June 30, 1894 and 1895.

	1894.	1895.
Total immigration	288,020	258,536
Number debarred from entrance and returned within one year after landing	2,389	2,419
Per cent of total immigration debarred and returned	0.8	1
Total number of illiterate		42,142
Per cent of total immigration over sixteen years of age, unable to write or to read and write their own language	25	21
Per cent of total immigration from Austria-Hungary, Italy, Poland and Russia,	43	41
Per cent of total immigration from the United Kingdom, France, Germany and Scandinavia,	49	52
Average money brought by immigrants, in dollars		16
Per cent of total immigration who had no occupation whatever	39	36
Per cent of total immigration who were farmers, laborers or servants	36	42
Per cent of total immigration destined for the four states of Ill., Mass., N. Y., and Pa.		72

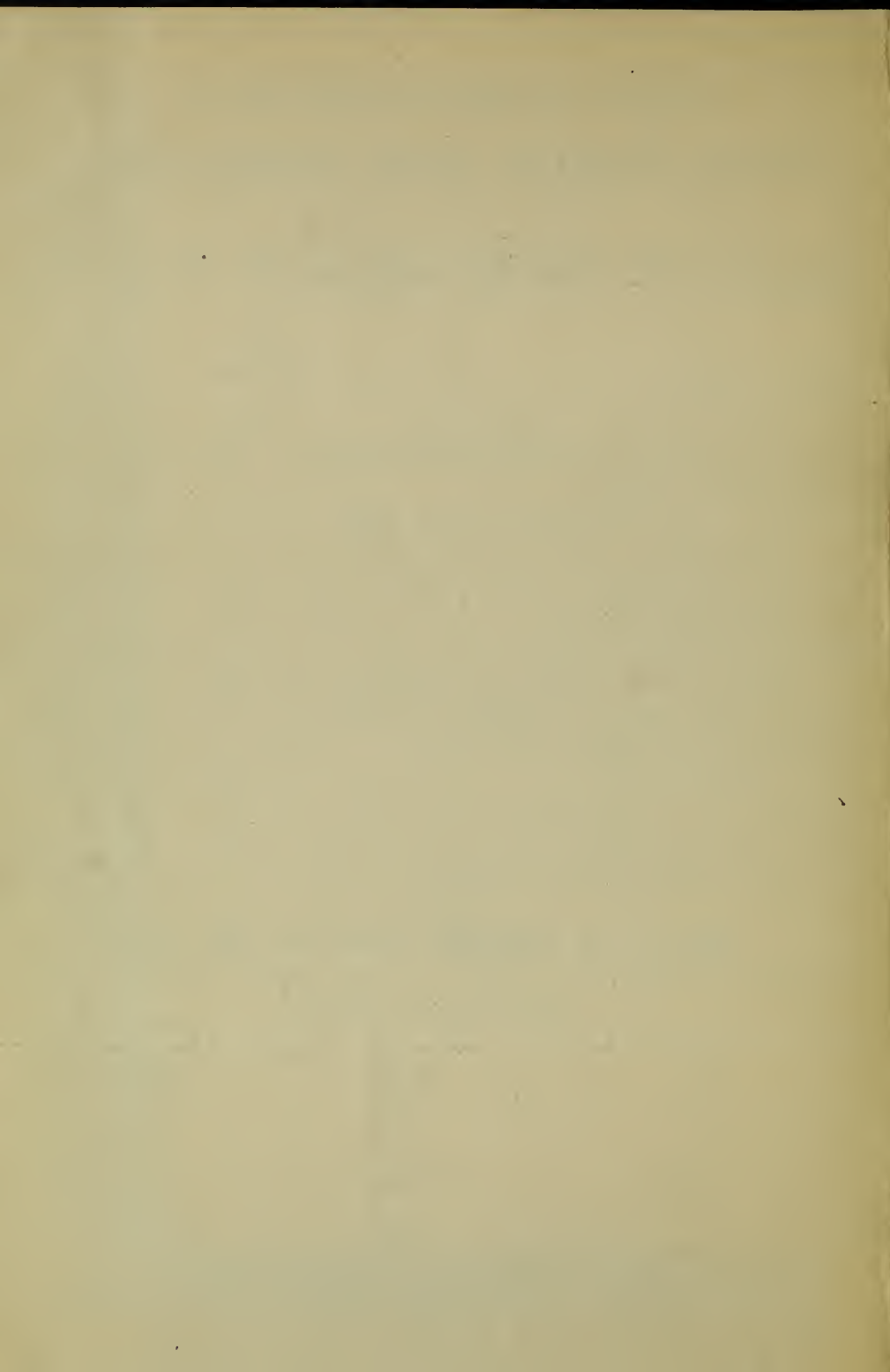
Table of the Immigrant Arrivals at New York,

For the six months ending October 31, 1895, compared with those during the same period last year.

MONTH.	1894.	1895.
May	22,832	34,648
June	16,403	24,837
July	11,743	17,804
August	11,478	18,424
September	14,834	23,025
October	15,383	23,426
Total for six months	92,673	142,164

NOTE:—That the immigration from May 1, to October 31, 1895, was larger by 49,491 or 53 per cent than that during the same months of 1894.

NOTE ALSO:—That the immigration during the six months from May 1, to October 31, 1895, was within 48,760 of the total immigration at the Port of New York during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1895.



The Commissioner-General says in his report, (p. 13) :

"The return of prosperity and the consequent demand for labor that dawned upon us early in 1895, caused an increase [of immigration] in the latter months of the fiscal year, which has grown steadily from that time down to the moment of writing this report. Should the same causes continue immigration will exceed 300,000 during the next fiscal year."

This fulfils the prediction made by the League in Publication No. 5, and it repeats that *it is of the utmost importance to revise our laws now and make them effective for sifting out the unworthy and undesirable elements when the numbers increase again in the near future.*

ILLITERACY.

Number of persons over sixteen years of age in each hundred immigrants who cannot write or cannot read and write their own language.

Sweden and Norway	1
Germany	2
France, England and Scotland	3
Ireland	7
Wales	9
Average of above	4
Russia	26
Poland	29
Austria-Hungary	30
Italy	44
Average of above	32

NOTE:—That the official figures as to illiteracy are not based upon actual tests, but depend for their accuracy upon the truth of the immigrants' answers to the questions put to them. If they were actually required by the inspectors to read and write before admission, the above figures of illiteracy would undoubtedly be larger.

Countries Which Send us Skilled Labor.

(From Report Superintendent of Immigration for 1893.)

Of the immigrants sent to us in 1893 by the various countries of Europe, but a small proportion were skilled workmen. Thus among immigrants from Scotland there was one skilled in 4; from England and Wales, 1 in 5; Belgium, 1 in 7; France, 1 in 9; Germany and Norway, 1 in 10; Italy, 1 in 14; Russia, 1 in 18; Ireland, 1 in 19; Poland, 1 in 23; Austria-Hungary, 1 in 29.

For publications and membership in the Immigration Restriction League, Address CHARLES WARREN, Secretary, 428 Exchange Bldg., Boston.

The League advocates a stricter regulation of immigration, but not the exclusion of any immigrants whose character and standards fit them to become citizens.

It advocates as an important means thereto, the exclusion of "All persons between fourteen and sixty years of age who cannot both read and write the English language or some other guage."

What does the American Press say about the Further Restriction of Immigration?

The present publication contains brief extracts from editorials which have recently appeared in some of the daily papers regarding the need of further restricting immigration. These extracts are selected from among hundreds of similar editorials that have been brought to the attention of the Immigration Restriction League, and may serve as indications of the general attitude of the papers which have lately spoken on this important subject.

Los Angeles, Cal., "This (educational) provision is an excellent one. . . It is a thoroughly American test. . . If we had had such a test in force during the past 30 years, we should not now be confronted with so difficult a problem as regards illiterate voters."

Denver, Colo., "The policy of the U. S. REPUBLICAN. should be to place severe restrictions upon immigration of an undesirable character. The welfare of the people already here calls for consideration before that of those who never have been in the country and who have no claim upon it whatever."

Hartford, Conn., "Certainly the suggestion to take the first step toward a policy of restricting immigration, by absolutely refusing admission to illiterate foreigners, is a good one."

Washington, D. C., "Our Census tables POST. prove that we have an ample supply of illiteracy on hand, both home-made and imported. The experience of all nations proves that ignorance is conducive to crime and pauperism. In a country whose government is based on the ballot illiteracy is dangerous. To guard against this danger and to reduce the cost of maintaining penal and charitable institutions, we expend many millions of dollars annually — dollars raised by taxation — for the support of public schools. Is it good policy, under these circumstances, to keep our gates wide open for the influx of illiteracy from Europe?"

If we were in need of labor this question might possibly be answered in the affirmative. But no such need exists. Neither in manufactures, mining, agriculture, nor in any other department of business is there any lack of workers. Illiterates are almost uniformly unskilled laborers, and we have an

enormous redundancy of that class. Every additional arrival of immigrants, such as are now coming in, increases the wretchedness of our city slums, and tends to reduce the scant wages of the men and women who are competing with each other for work.

It is not proposed to require a knowledge of the English language as a condition of admittance, but of some one language. It is not proposed to set up any high literary standard. To read and write one's native language is the full measure of the proposed scheme. There is a call for immigrants to take up land in the Northwest and in parts of the South. But those sections do not want illiterates. The West has quite enough and the South too much of illiteracy already. What they both want is intelligence, enterprise, and a little capital as qualifications of new citizens.

The Post has uniformly discouraged drastic legislation on immigration. It has had no sympathy for proscriptive propositions. But the time appears to have arrived for the exercise of judicious care as to the swelling stream of immigration that is pouring into our seaports and settling down in our cities. It does not seem advisable to keep on re-enforcing our stock of ignorance."

"The Post has never approved any demand for extreme measures calculated to suppress European immigration. It would be morally wrong and politically inexpedient to put up the bars against such foreigners as would probably become good citizens. But the Post has expressed the opinion that this country now has on hand a sufficient supply of illiteracy, both native and foreign. The records of our penal and charitable institutions furnish conclusive proof that illiteracy conduces to crime and poverty. But, in spite of this fact, our people might be justified in encouraging illiterate immigration if

we were in need of additional labor. We might overlook deficiencies in brain culture if we were suffering for muscle. This, however is not our case. We have a large surplus of labor, and the army of the idle in all our cities is re-enforced by every fresh arrival of immigrants. Under such circumstances the Post is inclined to favor the bill now before Congress which proposes to exclude all immigrants between fourteen and sixty years who cannot read and write their own language. . . .

"So far as the Eastern, Middle, and the older Northwestern States are concerned, no such illiterate immigrants are 'valuable additions to the population.' The South has all the illiterates that it cares to possess. There may be Western States that are longing for an increase of illiteracy by importation, but they rarely get it; for such immigrants settle in the slums of the Eastern cities as naturally as a duck takes to water."

Indianapolis, Ind., "The greater part of **JOURNAL.** these immigrants (from Austria-Hungary, Italy, Russia and Poland) are unskilled laborers. . . . These are just the people we do not need."

Jacksonville, Fla., "The immigration **TIMES-UNION.** problem is becoming a question which can no longer be overlooked in national legislation, and procrastination in the matter of its summary and final settlement is already working incalculable harm to the country at large."

Chicago, Ill., "Immigrants, other than **INTER-OCEAN.** very young children, who neither can read or write in any language cannot be considered as desirable accessions to an industrial community."

Chicago, Ill., "Its (the League's) object **ISRAELITE.** is most excellent, and it is grappling with the immigration question in the most practical manner and in a spirit of broad liberality."

Chicago, Ill., "In its present shape the **SKANDINAVEN.** bill (proposed by the Immigration Restriction League) contains but one clause, viz., a provision imposing an educational test upon all intending immigrants between fourteen and sixty years of age. If such a law had been enacted years ago the condition of the country, especially that of the working people, would have been better than it is today. It is time to call a halt to the importation of ignorance. The proposed legislation should receive the active support of all good citizens, irrespective of nationality, and this paper assumes, as a matter of course, that the Scandinavians will take the lead in this matter, and endeavor to induce other enlightened classes

of adopted citizens to follow in their footsteps. The average Congressman is generally a coward in respect to measures which in his judgment are offensive to the "foreign vote" of his district. For this reason it is all the more important that Scandinavian-American citizens should inform members they have helped to elect that the bill now pending, so far from being offensive to them, meets with their hearty and unqualified approval. Illiteracy is practically unknown in the Scandinavian countries. Citizens hailing from those lands suffer fully as much as do native-born citizens from the consequences of the increasing flood of ignorant and degraded people from "darkest Europe" and other lands. It is their duty and privilege to inaugurate a general movement among adopted citizens in support of the pending measure. Let them act promptly, unitedly, and with decision and vigor."

Sioux City, Ia., "One amendment to **TRIBUNE.** the present law . . . will probably meet with general approval. It is to exclude all persons between the ages of 14 and 60 who cannot read and write the English language or some other language. This proposition will commend itself to thinking people generally."

Louisville, Ky., "It is evident that there **COURIER-JOURNAL.** is still a large percentage of undesirable immigrants, as only the extreme cases are returned to the homes they quitted. Before the panic nearly half a million were landed every year upon our shores, and it is certain that a dangerous proportion were not fitted for becoming good American citizens. No political economist, American or European, but recognizes the menace to our institutions from such an influx of foreigners."

New Orleans, La., "It is announced **TIMES-DEMOCRAT.** that the present Congress will be asked for further legislation for the restriction of immigration on the lines recommended by the executive committee of the Immigration Restriction League. That body has been working very earnestly for some time past and filling the country with its protests against our insufficient immigration laws; its protests seem to have had some effect and are likely to result in some legislation on the part of Congress.

The proposition of the League is that all aliens between fourteen and sixty years of age who cannot read and write English or some other language, that is, all illiterates, shall be shut out of the country. It is claimed that the adoption of this rule would bar out fully 20 per cent of the most undesirable foreign element. It is not claimed that it will shut out all the bad immigrants, but

that all or very nearly all it does shut out are people we are better without.

We already have a great deal of illiteracy in this country, as much as we can safely attend to; and it is unwise if not dangerous to introduce more illiteracy, especially when the illiterates speak a foreign tongue. Could there be a greater danger to a country where the government depends upon the votes of the people than a large foreign-born population, ignorant of our language, unable to read or write, yet exercising the franchise? We recognize the danger of illiteracy, and fully appreciate it in our own people; and to protect ourselves from the danger, and thus reduce the cost of maintaining penal and charitable institutions, we spend millions of dollars for schools. Yet while we are defending ourselves at home against illiteracy, we throw open our doors and welcome illiterates from abroad—illiterates whom we can never teach to read or write because they do not speak our language.

There are occasions, of course, when this illiteracy might be overlooked. If we were in great need of rough labor we would be justified in overlooking the fact that the laborers could not read or write; but, as a matter of fact, we have all the labor we need for manufactures, agriculture and every kind of industry; and it seems the height of folly to be bringing in illiterates, who are, in almost every case, unskilled laborers.

The arguments of the Immigration Restriction League are strong and are likely to have a great influence with Congress. The league has no Know-Nothing tendencies. It does not propose to shut out immigrants or discriminate against races. All it proposes is that to enjoy the privileges of this great country and share in its government the new comer shall at least know how to read and write his native tongue. The rule will be no hardship to anyone, and will keep out many persons who will prove a burden to the country."

Boston, Mass., "The Journal welcomes **JOURNAL.** the addition of an educational test as a wise and practical increase in the stringency of our laws. . . . Until we have an educational test as a safeguard, we cannot feel sure that this enormous army of foreign citizens is capable of appreciating our institutions."

Boston, Mass., "It is certainly anomalous that in this land of compulsory education, as the only safe basis for our free institutions, foreigners—total strangers to us in language, habits and knowledge of government—should be allowed free entry, without being able to read and write. If education is so necessary for

our own people that millions of dollars are spent every year on our public schools, by what sort of logic do we allow foreigners to come among us who have had no rudimentary educational training?"

Detroit Mich., "It would be a blessing **JOURNAL.** if foreign immigration could be suspended so far as to exclude the illiterate and undesirable classes. . . . Such a qualification (educational) would not conflict with the spirit of American Institutions. We compel the education of our own children, and it is unquestionably right and proper that we should compel adult foreigners seeking residence here to be able to read and write."

Grand Rapids, Mich., "Illiterate im-
HERALD. migrants are a standing menace to any country. Their presence cannot be looked upon as desirable, nor are they such people as any civilized nation would recklessly invite to their shores."

Duluth, Minn., "What we need is an
TRIBUNE. immigration of intelligence and activity, not an invasion of ruined adventurers and poverty-stricken laborers."

Minneapolis, Minn., "We have a per-
TIMES. fect right to insist upon some rational educational test—a test which shall guarantee that the immigrants we receive are at least intelligent enough to make good citizens. . . . The Times agrees with the Restriction League when it says that no immigrant between the ages 14 and 60 shall be allowed to land in the United States who cannot read and write some one language."

St. Paul Minn., "It (educational test)
PIONEER-PRESS. is not all the legislation that is needed; but it would be a long step in the right direction. . . . This is a requirement which involves no hardship to the immigrant which he cannot overcome by industry and perseverance, and it would be a valuable protection to the country against the invasion of ignorant and irresponsible hordes."

Kansas City, Mo., "The fiercest and
JOURNAL. bloodiest labor disturbances in this country have been those in which the Huns and Poles have been engaged. It is a lasting commentary on the stability of our institutions that they could withstand this mighty assault upon them from this aggregation of hostility and illiteracy. The figures suggest the trend of legislation which must be enacted if the institutions of this country are to receive the protection they demand."

New York, N. Y., "We trust that the
SUN. subject of immigration will

be taken up at the coming session of Congress, and that better laws for its regulation will be enacted. There is very great need for the adoption of more stringent rules for the exclusion of undesirable immigrants, many of whom, after their admission, become a burden upon the community, or lower the character of our population."

Cleveland, O., "In the earlier years of **PLAIN DEALER.** immigration a large proportion of the new comers, especially the Germans and Scandinavians, went directly to the West. And aided materially in clearing the forest, bringing virgin lands into cultivation and building of new towns and cities. Now there is a change. The immigrants driven from home by stern necessity, flock to the cities and remain there, intensifying by their added competition the sharp struggle of the laboring man for the necessities of existence. It will be found, as a rule, that the illiterate from foreign shores do not make desirable citizens. We already have too many illiterates in this country, and the educational test for immigrants is bound to grow in popularity."

Albany, Ore., "Congress is looking to-
HERALD. ward the immigration restriction measures, and it is to be hoped that something will be done in that line. There is a general opinion in favor of such a course. . . . All foreign-born citizens of the better sort will favor the adoption of a law enforcing an educational test upon intending immigrants."

Philadelphia, Pa., "We do not want the
TELEGRAPH. country to be deluged with foreign cheap labor, pauperism, vice, anarchy and illiteracy."

Memphis, Tenn., "This country does not
COMMERCIAL APPEAL. need any increase of population other than the natural increase of the present stock. . . . We should be glad to see a still greater diminution in the number of foreign immigrants."

Seattle, Wash., "There was a time in
POST-INTELLIGENCER. the history of this country when these strangers were gladly welcomed, but that time is not now; it was when the Republic was young and its unoccupied area greater; it was at a time when the land would absorb all who sought asylum here and were willing to become good and intelligent citizens, in accordance with the laws and usages of the country. . . . There is no use in attempting to disguise the fact that there is danger in congesting here such masses of illiterate and non-assimilative foreigners."

Wheeling, W. Va., "The United States
NEWS. has been and is being made the dumping ground for a very large proportion of the ignorance and poverty of the old world. The constant addition of these elements to our population must result in lowering gradually the average moral and intellectual status of the whole people."

Racine, Wis., "There are other reasons
JOURNAL. than the protection of our labor why we should restrict immigration. We already have in our large cities a vast amount of ignorance and pauperism to care for. . . . We need, for a time at least, to keep back all who have not intelligence enough to take care of themselves. This (educational test) would keep out the very poor and the illiterate and would furnish some protection to our present population."

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Distribution

OF

Illiterate Immigrants.

The following tables are presented as a partial result of a recent visit to the Immigration Station on Ellis Island, N. Y., made by members of the Executive Committee of the League. There were three objects in view; to ascertain —

1. The truth of the immigrant's answer as to his ability to read and write;

2. The destination, first, of the less desirable nationalities, and secondly, of the illiterates; and

3. The grouping of the immigrants by the amount of money brought with them.

There are at present, no adequate statistics on these subjects. It is suggested that hereafter the government publications should deal with at least the last two.

On December 13, 14 and 15, 1895 about 1000 immigrants over 16 years of age were examined, chiefly Russians and Austro-Hungarians together with some Syrians, arriving on six steamers from Bremen, Amsterdam, Antwerp, Southampton and Liverpool. Too few Italians came for tabulation.

It is believed that the results obtained are characteristic of such immigration throughout the year.

Destination by Nationalities. (1)

	Penn.	N. Y.	*Other Atlantic.	*Middle. and Western.	*Central and Western.	Atlantic.	Non Atlantic.
Germans,	16	39	8	21	12	63	33
Bohemians,	0	4	0	3	6	4	9
Finns,	2	6	12	2	7	20	9
Russians,	26	58	20	8	2	104	10
Hungarians,	197	76	74	19	1	347	20
Galicians,	42	23	39	18	5	104	23
Croats, etc.	40	17	2	10	11	59	21
Syrians,	0	30	5	0	4	35	4

The "Croats etc.," include all the other Austrian races.

* Other Atlantic comprises N. H., Mass., Conn., N. J., Del., Md. and W. Va.

Middle Atlantic comprises Ohio, Ind., Ill., Mich., Wis., and Ky.

Central and Western comprises Minn., Iowa, Mo., Texas, Kan., Neb., Col., Wyo., and Mont.

The boundary lines are, roughly, the western boundary of Penn., and the Mississippi river.

The above states, together with N. Y., Penn. and Ga. were the only ones given by immigrants as their destination.

Note: that except for the Border States *not one Southern State* appears, except Ga., to which one German was going.

Destination by Nationalities. (2)

By Percentages.

	Penn.	N. Y.	Other Atlantic	Middle.	Central and Western.	Atlantic.	Non Atlantic.
Germans,	17%	41%	8%	22%	12%	66%	34%
Bohemians,	0.	30	0.	23	47	30	70
Finns,	7	21	41	7	24	69	31
Russians,	23	51	17	7	2	91	9
Hungarians,	54	21	20	5	0.0	95	5
Galicians,	33	18	31	14	4	82	18
Croats, etc.	50	21	3	12	14	74	26
Syrians,	0.	77	13	0.	10	90	10
Russians,	42	28	19	7	3	89.2	10.8
Hungarians,							
Galicians,							
Croats and Syrians.							

Note: therefore, that *nine-tenths* of the races whose illiteracy is very great remained on the Atlantic seaboard, while only ten per cent went west of Pennsylvania, and of these but *three* per cent crossed the Mississippi.

Illiteracy of Nationalities.

All the Germans and Bohemians could read and write, while the illiteracy of the other races was as follows :

Finns,	10%	Illiterate.
Russians,	48	"
Hungarians,	36½	"
Galicians,	62	"
Croats, etc.,	45	"
Syrians,	69	"

Remember, for comparison, that the average of illiteracy for the British, Germans and Scandinavians is 2.3 in a hundred.

Destination of Illiterates.

By Numbers.

By Percentages.

	Penn.	N. Y.	Other Atlantic	Middle.	Central and Western.	Atlantic.	Non Atlantic.	Atlantic.	Non Atlantic.
Russians.	11	28	11	4	1	50	5	91%	9%
Hungarians,	76	20	34	4	0	130	4	97	3
Galicians,	25	12	26	11	5	63	16	80	20
Croats, etc.	20	8	0	4	4	28	8	78	22
Syrians,	0	21	2	0	4	23	4	85	15
Totals.	132	89	73	23	14	294	37	89	11

Only eleven illiterates were destined to the South, 1 Hungarian going to Delaware, 3 to West Virginia, and 2 Galicians to Maryland, while the 5 who were going to Missouri were sent before the Board of Special Inquiry on suspicion of being Contract laborers and were admitted for lack of evidence.

Exclusion of Illiterates.

ITS EFFECT ON THE SOUTH AND WEST.

Note: The above table gives the destination of the 331 illiterate Russians, Austro-Hungarians, and Syrians only, and shows the small percentage of illiterates (11 per cent) who went beyond the Atlantic States. An educational test as a measure of restriction would therefore not affect in any important degree the Western and Southern States, many of which are naturally desirous of obtaining a large immigration, for the illiterates largely stagnate near the Atlantic seacoast, while the more educated nations move on to build up the new states.

Note also: that the immigration from the above nations for the year ending June 30, 1895, was 67,427, of which 26,925 were illiterate. By the percentages of destination as above, only twenty two hundred and ninety-nine would have been excluded from the Non-Atlantic States, while the Atlantic seaboard would have been relieved of eighteen thousand six hundred and twenty-six illiterates.

That the races like the Germans, Scandinavians, Bohemians, French and English who would be little affected by an educational test, largely go West, while the illiterate races such as the Hungarians, Galicians and Italians remain to lower the standards of the already crowded Atlantic territory, is confirmed by the following table, showing the percentages by nations of the foreign born residing in the several parts of the United States in 1890.

Distribution of Foreign Born.

(Compiled from Census of 1890, Part 1, p. cxxvii).

	North Atlantic.	South Atlantic.	North Central.	South Central.	Western.
Great Britain and Ireland,	59.5	2.5	27.6	2.4	7.9
France,	36.0	2.2	34.1	12.7	14.9
Germany,	32.2	2.9	56.4	4.1	4.3
Bohemia,	10.4	1.4	84.3	3.1	0.8
Scandinavia,	12.7	0.3	76.0	0.8	10.
Austria,	49.9	1.7	31.8	8.4	8.1
Hungary,	72.9	1.8	22.1	1.4	1.6
Italy,	65.0	2.7	12.0	6.7	13.7
Poland,	38.4	1.7	57.0	1.7	1.2
Russia,	50.9	3.2	38.2	1.5	6.1

“South Atlantic” includes states south of N. J. and Pa.

“South Central” includes states south of the Ohio River and Mo.

Note: that only 4.6 per cent of the Poles and only 4.8 per cent of the Hungarians and 10.8 per cent of the Russians live in the Southern States or in the Western division; altogether only 29,528, scattered in a total population of nearly twenty three millions. Note: that while the Non-Atlantic States gain three-fourths of the Germans and Scandinavians, the Atlantic States are burdened with two-thirds of the Russians, Hungarians and Italians.

(Report Supt. of Immigration for Fiscal Year 1894, p. 15).

“Much of the inflow of immigration has in former years sought employment in the rich mining regions, manufacturing centres, and populous cities of the Eastern portions of our country. The class thus employed has proved to be less desirable

than the hardy immigrants who seek homes in the West and engage in agricultural pursuits. In many portions of the East, and especially in large cities, certain classes and races of people have become a burden and a detriment to American labor. They form communities among themselves, speak only their own language, and do not assimilate with our people, nor do they become attached to the principles of our government, and often prove a source of apprehension."

Illiterates and Slums.

Where the illiterate immigrants *do go* is shown by the Seventh Special Report of the U. S. Commissioner of Labor (1894), from which it appears (p. 44) that the proportion of those of foreign birth or parentage to the total population in the slums of Baltimore was 77 per cent, in Chicago 90 per cent, in New York 95 per cent, and in Philadelphia 91 per cent. The figures for the foreign born alone are correspondingly striking. It appears from the same Report (p.160-3) that of every 100 aliens, 40 were illiterate in the slums of Baltimore, 47 in Chicago, 59 in New York and 51 in Philadelphia; and that of every 100 of these illiterate aliens there were 67 males of voting age in Baltimore, 77 in Chicago, 78 in New York and 85 in Philadelphia.

The proportion in which the literate and illiterate nationalities contribute to the slum population is shown by the following tables, compiled from the same Report p. 41,72.

<i>Austria-Hungary, Italy Poland and Russia.</i>		<i>United Kingdom, France, Germany and Scandinavia.</i>	
Per cent of Total Population.	Per cent of Slum Population.	Per cent of Total Population.	Per cent of Slum Population.
Baltimore.			
1.97	12.72	13.52	27.29
Chicago.			
6.41	44.44	30.70	10.64
New York.			
9.45	51.11	30.73	8.64
Philadelphia.			
1.95	50.28	22.95	8.44

The comparative degrees of illiteracy of the foregoing elements of slums is as follows for the above mentioned four cities.

Scandinavia,	5.6%
Great Britain,	7.0
France,	10.2
Germany,	21.9
Ireland,	40.4
Average of Group,	25.5
Austria-Hungary,	16.6
Russia,	37.1
Poland,	46.1
Italy,	66.4
Average of Group,	54.5
Native Americans,	7.4

Illiterates and Money.

While little emphasis should be laid on the amount of money brought by an immigrant—as money is no test of an immigrant's real worth,—light may be perhaps thrown on the question why the Russians, Galicians, Croats, and Syrians do not or cannot go West, by the statement that of the 331 illiterates examined at Ellis Island, 32 or 10 per cent brought in no money, 101 or 30 per cent one to five dollars each, 92 or 28 per cent six to ten dollars, and 106 or 32 per cent over ten dollars; that is 40 per cent of these immigrants had five dollars or less, and 68 per cent ten dollars or less.

The total amount of money known to have been brought in during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1895, by 160,103 immigrants over 20 years of age was \$4,126,793, an average of \$25.97 per capita over twenty years of age, but an average of only \$16.34 for each of the total number of immigrants for that year.

Note, however, that of the above 160,103 immigrants 78 per cent or 125,328 brought in less than \$30, and 34,775 or 22 per cent, brought in more.

The figures as to average amount per immigrant, \$25.97, as given above, were therefore extremely misleading, because it is evident that a very large percentage of immigrants may have brought in less than \$10; but this would be counteracted by a small number of immigrants bringing several hundreds of dollars, as those who intend to settle on farms do.

This is clearly shown by the report of the Superintendent of Immigration for 1892, page 26, where he says that, of the 9639 immigrants from Russia arriving at the ports of New York, "333 brought more than \$100 each, several of these bringing considerable sums of money: one bringing \$25,000," while the "9306 Russians who brought less than \$100 were nearly all destitute."

In order to have any real significance the statistics as to the amount of money brought in should show the number of immigrants bringing \$1 to \$5, \$5 to \$10, and \$10 to \$30 etc.

In this way it would probably appear that the great proportion of immigrants really brought much less than the average per capita as now given; and that their real average was raised by the fewer number who brought considerably over \$30.

With the above caution Note: that the report of the Superintendent of Immigration for the fiscal year 1892, shows that the 152,360 immigrants *over 20 years of age* arriving at the port of New York brought \$3,060,908, an average of \$20.09 per capita. Immigrants from

France, brought	\$55.67 per capita.
Germany,	35.42
England,	26.43
Sweden,	21.69
Russia,	22.10
Armenia,	19.68
Austria,	14.95
Poland,	12.31
Italy,	11.77
Hungary,	11.42

That according to report of Commissioner-General of Immigration for 1895, immigrants over twenty years of age brought into U. S.

From France,	\$55.58 per capita.
Germany,	41.39
England,	36.76
Sweden,	28.33
Russia,	14.35
Poland,	23.19
Hungary,	19.94
Austria, excepting Bohemia and Moravia,	19.94
Italy,	14.77

which would make the amount per capita for each of the total number of Immigrants from

France,	\$37.98
Germany,	26.43
England,	19.37
Sweden,	18.85
Russia, ~	7.52
Poland,	11.18
Hungary,	13.09
Austria, excepting Bohemia and Moravia,	12.94
Italy,	10.79

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The Present Italian Influx,

ITS STRIKING ILLITERACY.

Comparison of Educational Test and Consular Certificate Plans.

In Publication No. 11 were set forth the illiteracy of the more ignorant races of Europe as ascertained from actual tests made by the League at Ellis Island, New York Harbor, and the destination of those races in this country. The recent extraordinary influx of Italians seemed a favorable time for further investigation, and through the courtesy of Dr. J. H. Senner who placed the records of the Ellis Island station completely at the disposal of the League, it is now enabled to present an analysis of the recent Italian immigration based on an examination of the official manifests.

The manifests examined were of those coming from both Northern and Southern Italy. The immigration from Southern Italy is much less desirable, is more ignorant and more degraded than that from Northern Italy, and has latterly been the chief part of the Italian influx.

Inasmuch as the testimony of the manifests as to illiteracy is simply that of the immigrants themselves unverified by actual tests of their ability to read and write, the results are undoubtedly too favorable to the immigrants; but it is believed that they are striking enough to show the great efficiency of the reading and writing test as a means of further restricting immigration.

Total Arrivals of Italian Immigrants at the Port of New York.

[From figures furnished by Assistant Commissioner of Immigration.]

Total immigration Jan. 1 to April 30, 1895	52,565
Italian " " 1 " " 30, 1895	11,896
Percent which Italian was of total immigration	22.6
Total immigration Jan. 1 to April 17, 1896	66,290
Italian " " 1 " " 17, 1896	* 19,946
Percent which Italian was of total immigration	30.0
Italian immigration Jan. 1 to March 31, 1896	13,946
Illiterate Italians " 1 " " 31, 1896	7,001
Percent of illiteracy among Italians	50.2
Approximate number of Italians who were already on the way or about to embark for the port of New York on April 18, 1896	7,797
Approximate number of Italians who will have arrived at New York Jan. 1 to April 30, 1896	27,000

* The number from April 1 to April 17 was approximately 6,000.

Illiteracy of Italian Immigrants.

[From manifests of 3,174 immigrants over 14 years of age arriving at the Port of New York during April 1896, on four steamers from Genoa and Naples. This is not the total number so arriving during the month, but is believed to present a fair average of the entire Italian immigration.]

Total immigrants examined	3,174
Percentage of males	89.2
Percentage of females	10.8
Total illiterates	2,147
Percent of total immigrants who were illiterate	67.6
Percentage of male illiteracy	66.5
Percentage of female illiteracy	75.7
Number debarred under existing laws	197
Percentage debarred of total immigrants	6.2
Number which would have been debarred by the League's bill	* 2,147
or a percentage of	* 67.6
Percentage of those who have been in the U. S. before	27.7
Percentage of total immigrants who were laborers	† 85.8

* Very few arriving were over 60 years of age, and this small number is included in the above figures.

† A very large proportion of those not laborers were sailors, and the balance chiefly stone-cutters, shoemakers and barbers.

Destination of Italian Immigrants.

Boston,	150	Philadelphia,	137
Other Mass.,	34	Other Pa.,	176
Total Mass.,	184	Total Pa.,	313
Maine,	7	Ohio,	45
Rhode Island,	88	Chicago,	34
Connecticut,	85	Other Illinois,	10
Total New England,	364	Total Illinois,	44
New York State and City	2,276	Other States and Canada,	62
New Jersey,	79	Total,	3174

With but few exceptions these immigrants were bound either to the large cities or to manufacturing and mining centres. Thus, those destined for New York state were going to New York city, Brooklyn, Buffalo, Syracuse, etc. It is probable that a small number of those giving New York city as their destination are ultimately distributed to other places.

From the above table it appears that 95.3% were destined for New England, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

Of those destined for "other states" **31** or less than **1**% were bound to states west of the Mississippi River, and only **11** to states south of Pa. and the Ohio River, while only **3** were going to the southern states proper.

Educational Test and Consular Certificate Plans Compared.

I. Objections to Consular Certificate Plan.

1. Necessitates a large increase in consular force, and consequent expense.
2. Divides responsibility between the consul and the inspector at the American port. In doubtful cases each would throw responsibility upon the other and the immigrant would be allowed to enter; or else
3. Works hardships on the immigrants, because it is not certain that all with consular certificates will be allowed to land.
4. Consuls have not the time to examine the large numbers embarking at one time, and the result would be that inspection would practically be done by their clerks, who are frequently natives and who would generally sympathize with the immigrants, and in any case would be less efficient and responsible, and more open to corruption.
5. Does not add at all to the classes now excluded by law, but is simply an administrative measure. Other classes are objectionable also.
6. Does not draw any line of exclusion more definite than the present law, which vests an unlimited and burdensome discretion in the immigration officials.
7. If consular inspection were public the foreign governments could at once tell whom to detain as being desirable citizens, and fit for military service; or
8. If secret consular inspection were contemplated, foreign governments would not permit its introduction.

II. Advantages of the Educational Test.

1. Excludes the people we wish to exclude; i. e., those who are degraded, ignorant alike of their own language and of any occupation, incapable of appreciating our institutions and standards of living, and very difficult of assimilation. See Pubs., Nos. 5, 6, 9, 11 and 12.

2. Adds to the excluded classes.
3. In practice would be applied at place where ticket bought and applied by steamship companies, therefore
4. Does not imply any great change in existing machinery, or any large increase in consular service and expense.
5. Inspection is not committed to persons in remote countries where surveillance is difficult, but remains a uniform system, which is public and easily controlled.
6. Is exact and definite in its operation; easily and simply applied, and therefore
7. Diminishes the labor of the boards of special inquiry, and gives the immigration officials opportunity for a more thorough inspection.
8. Secures rudimentary education on the part of all foreigners applying for naturalization papers, and American citizenship.
9. Promotes education among those who desire to emigrate and to that extent improves the social condition of Europe.
10. Saves the hardship to the immigrant of making the voyage in doubt as to his admission or exclusion. and therefore
11. Does away in large part with the separation of families, and with a temptation to a lax enforcement of inspection, in order to prevent such separation. Intending immigrants can tell before starting whether they are eligible or not, and can decide whether to separate or not.

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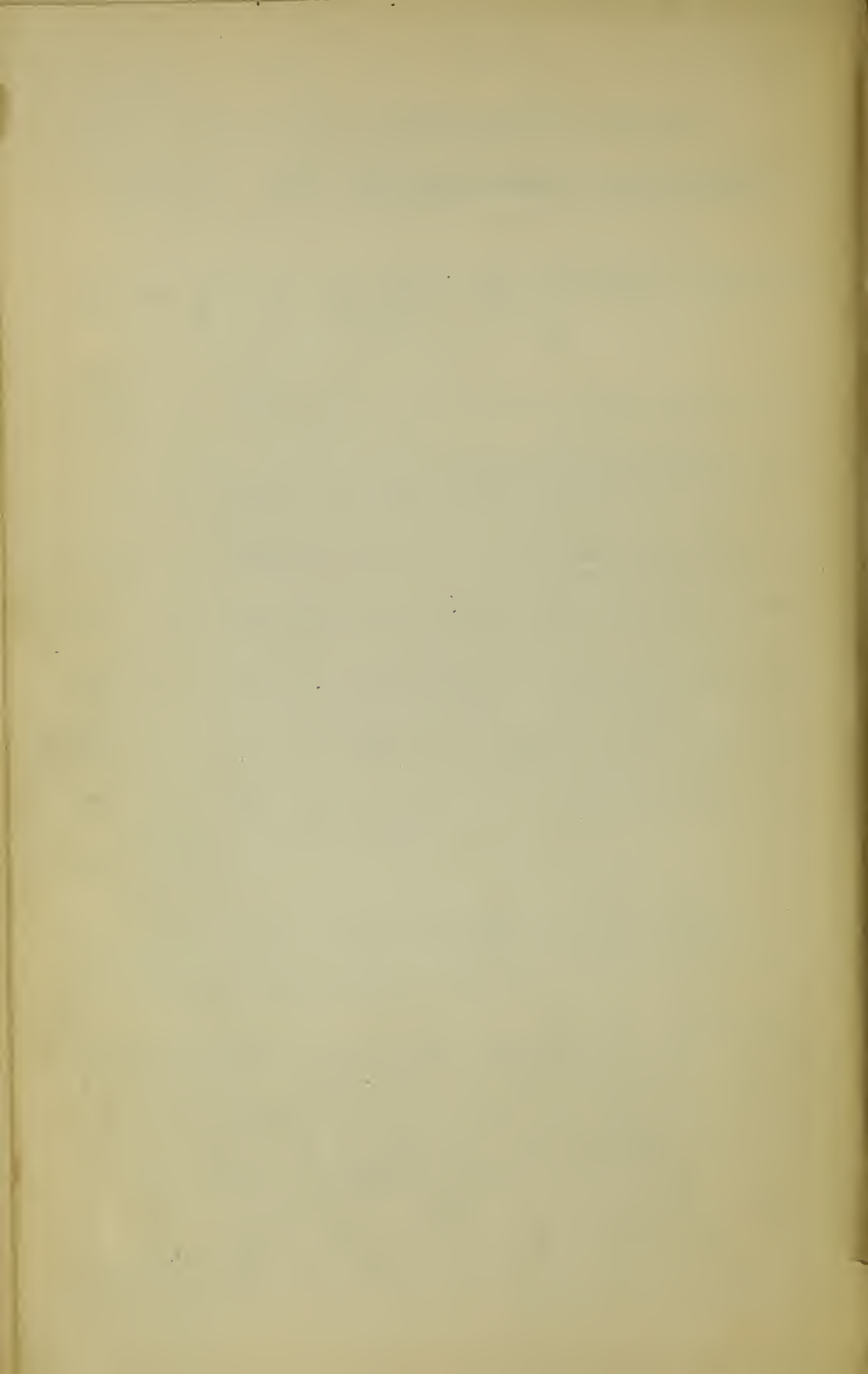
Immigration Figures for 1896.

(From data furnished by the Commissioner-General of Immigration.)

Comparison of the Fiscal Years ending June 30, 1895 and 1896.

	1895.	1896.
Total immigration	258,536	343,267
Increase of 1896 over 1895		84,731
Per cent of increase		33
Number debarred from entrance and returned within one year after landing	2,389	3,037
Per cent debarred and returned	1	0.9
Total number of illiterate	42,142	83,196
Per cent of illiterate in total immigration over 15 years of age	20	29
Per cent of total immigration coming from Austria-Hungary, Italy, Poland and Russia	41	52
Per cent of total immigration coming from the United Kingdom, France, Germany and Scandinavia	52	39
Average money brought by immigrants in dollars	16	11
Per cent of total immigration having no occupation whatever	36	36
Per cent of total immigration who were farmers, laborers or servants	42	46
Per cent of total immigration destined for the four states of Ill., Mass., N. Y., and Pa.	72	72
Per cent of total immigration destined for states South of the Potomac River, Pa., and the Ohio River, or West of the Mississippi River		11

REMARKS.—The predictions made by the League in previous publications are now being verified. Immigration is increasing rapidly, the number of immigrants this year being nearly 1-3 larger than last year. There has been a very large increase in the proportion of immigration from South Eastern Europe and some increase in the proportion of unskilled labor. Inasmuch as the nations of South Eastern Europe furnish the greatest proportion of illiteracy there has been also a large increase in the percentage of illiterate immigrants this year. The average money brought by immigrants is also less than for many years. In spite of the apparently inferior quality of much of the year's immigration, the number debarred and returned is relatively less than last year, and this fact is a conclusive proof that the laws need amending.



ILLITERACY.

Number of persons over fourteen years of age in each hundred immigrants who cannot write or cannot read and write their own language, from those nations of Europe which sent upwards of 2,000 immigrants to the United States during the past fiscal year.

Switzerland	0.7
Denmark	0.8
Sweden and Norway	1.0
Germany	2.4
France	4.2
England	4.4
Scotland	4.6
Ireland	6.5
Finland	10.4

Greece	23.9
Russia	32.1
Austria-Hungary	39.5
Italy	46.1
Portugal	58.1

Average United Kingdom, France, Germany and Scandinavia	3.7
--	-----

Average Austria-Hungary, Italy, Poland and Russia	40.1
--	------

NOTE.—That the official figures as to illiteracy are not based upon actual tests, but depend for their accuracy upon the truth of the immigrants' answers to the questions put to them. If they were actually required by the inspectors to read and write before admission, the above figures of illiteracy would undoubtedly be larger.

Countries Which Send us Skilled Labor.

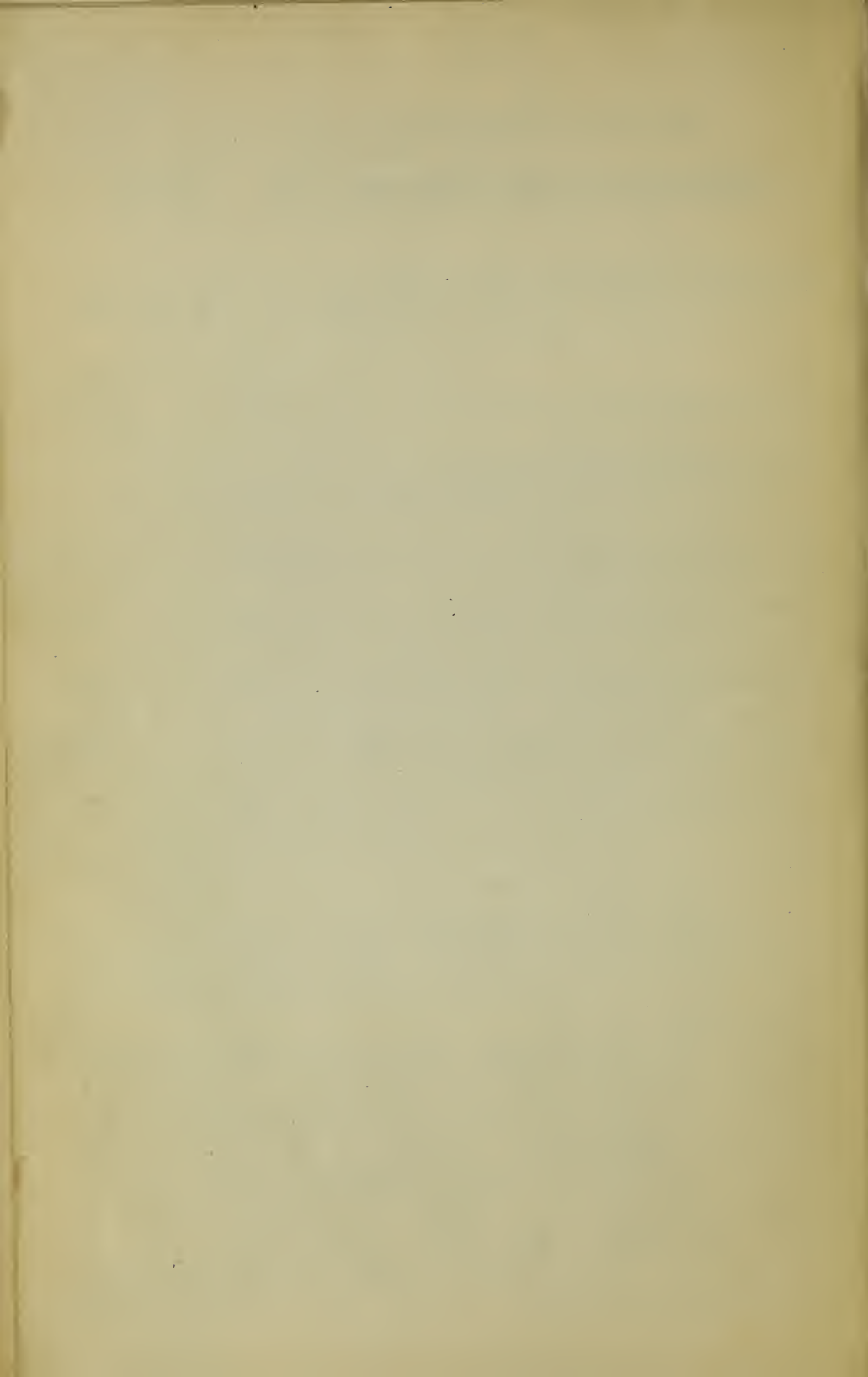
(From Report Superintendent of Immigration for 1893.)

Of the immigrants sent to us in 1893 by the various countries of Europe, but a small proportion were skilled workmen. Thus among immigrants from Scotland there was one skilled in 4; from England and Wales, 1 in 5; Belgium, 1 in 7; France, 1 in 9; Germany and Norway, 1 in 10; Italy, 1 in 14; Russia, 1 in 18; Ireland, 1 in 19; Poland, 1 in 23; Austria-Hungary, 1 in 29.

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IMMIGRATION.

Its Effects upon the United States.

REASONS FOR FURTHER RESTRICTION.

Immigration by Decades, 1820 to 1890.

(From the Report of the Supt. of Immigration for the year ending June 30, 1892.)

1820—1830	128,393
1830—1840	539,391
1840—1850	1,423,337
1850—1860	2,799,423
1860—1870	1,964,061 [The War Period.]
1870—1880	2,834,040
1880—1890	5,246,613

The Yearly Average, 1880-1890, was 524,661. Immigration 1880-1890 was 35.1 per cent. of the entire arrivals in U.S. 1820-1890.

Immigration by Years from 1885.

(From Reports of Superintendent and Bureau of Immigration.)

1885	395,346
1886	334,203
1887	490,109
1888	546,881
1889	444,427
1890	455,302
1891	560,319
1892	579,663
1893	440,793 [The Cholera Year.]
1894	288,020 [The Panic Year.]
1895	258,536
1896	343,267

NOTE: That the figures for 1896 show an increase over 1895 of 84,731, or nearly one-third, and a return to the conditions existing prior to the panic.

Recent Changes in the Nationality of Immigrants.

(Specially prepared for the League from Quarterly Report Bureau Statistics No. 2, Series 1892-1893, and Reports of Superintendent of Immigration.)

	Immigrants from Austria-Hungary, Italy, Poland and Russia.	Immigrants from United Kingdom, France, Germany and Scandinavia.
1869	3,515	260,083
1880	36,812	292,903
1886	71,734	240,770
1887	124,781	332,748
1890	154,873	262,749
1891	222,020	292,059
1892	259,967	312,502
1893*	188,149	212,169
1894†	122,834	137,217
1895	102,850	136,790
1896	178,991	132,374

	Per cent. of immigrants from Austria-Hungary, Italy, Poland and Russia, to total immigration.	Per cent. of immigrants from United Kingdom, France, Germany and Scandinavia, to total immigration.
1869	0.9	73.8
1880	8.5	64.5
1890	34.0	57.7
1891	39.6	52.1
1892	44.8	53.9
1893	42.7	48.2
1894	42.6	47.9
1895	39.8	52.9
1896	52.0	39.0

NOTE: In 1869 the immigrants from Austria-Hungary, Italy, Russia and Poland were about 1-100th of the number from the United Kingdom, France, Germany and Scandinavia; in 1880 about 1-10th; in 1894 nearly equal to it; in 1896 1-3d greater.

Numbers Debarred and Deported.

1892	2,801 out of 579,663 or 0.5 per cent.
1893	1,630 out of 440,793 or 0.4 per cent.
1894	2,389 out of 228,020 or 1.0 per cent.
1895	2,419 out of 258,536 or 1.0 per cent.
1896	3,037 out of 343,267 or 0.9 per cent.

NOTE: That the average number debarred and deported under the present laws is less than one per cent. of the total immigration.

* Cholera year.

† Panic year.

Legislation.

The only classes of persons excluded from this country under our present immigration laws (not considering Chinese immigration) are the following: I. *Idiots*; II. *Insane persons*; III. *Paupers or persons likely to become a public charge*; IV. *Persons with a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease*; V. *Persons who have been convicted of felony or other infamous crime or misdemeanor involving moral turpitude*; VI. *Polygamists*; VII. "*Assisted immigrants*," unless on special inquiry they are found not to belong to any of the foregoing excluded classes; VIII. *Contract laborers*; IX. *Women imported for purposes of prostitution*.

NOTE: There are three general misconceptions regarding our present immigration laws. *The first* is that we now require a careful examination of all intending immigrants in Europe, before they embark, and in this way the least desirable element is very largely prevented from coming here. *The second*, that persons who cannot read and write are at present debarred from landing. *The third*, that every immigrant must have \$30 in order to be admitted. None of these is true.

Advantages of the Educational Test as a Means of further Restricting Immigration.

1. Excludes the people we wish to exclude; *i.e.*, those who are degraded, ignorant alike of their own language and of any occupation, incapable of appreciating our institutions and standards of living, and very difficult of assimilation.
2. Adds to the excluded classes.
3. In practice would be applied at place where ticket bought and applied by steamship companies, therefore
4. Does not imply any great change in existing machinery, or any large increase in consular service and expense.
5. Inspection is not committed to persons in remote countries where surveillance is difficult, but remains a uniform system, which is public and easily controlled.
6. Is exact and definite in its operation; easily and simply applied, and therefore
7. Diminishes the labor of the boards of special inquiry, and gives the immigration officials opportunity for a more thorough inspection.
8. Secures rudimentary education on the part of all foreigners applying for naturalization papers and American citizenship.

9. Promotes education among those who desire to emigrate, and to that extent improves the social condition of Europe.
10. Saves the hardship to the immigrant of making the voyage in doubt as to his admission or exclusion, and therefore
11. Does away in large part with the separation of families, and with a temptation to a lax enforcement of inspection, in order to prevent such separation. Intending immigrants can tell before starting whether they are eligible or not, and can decide whether to separate or not.

For publications and membership in the Immigration Restriction League, Address PRESCOTT F. HALL, Secretary, Fiske Building, Boston. The annual dues are one dollar.

The League is a strictly non-partisan and non-sectarian organization, with members from all parts of the United States. It advocates a stricter regulation of immigration, but not the exclusion of any immigrants whose character and standards fit them to become citizens.

It advocates as an important means thereto, the exclusion of "All persons between fourteen and sixty years of age who cannot both read and write the English language or some other language."

Condition of Immigrants.

	1895	1896
Per cent. of illiterate in total immigration over 15 years of age	20	29
Per cent. of total immigration who were farmers, laborers or servants	42	46
Per cent. of total immigration having no occupation whatever	36	36

Countries which Send us Skilled Labor.

(From Report Superintendent of Immigration for 1893.)

Of the immigrants sent to us in 1893 by the various countries of Europe, but a small proportion were skilled workmen. Thus among immigrants from Scotland there was one skilled in 4; from England and Wales, 1 in 5; Belgium, 1 in 7; France, 1 in 9; Germany and Norway, 1 in 10; Italy, 1 in 14; Russia, 1 in 18; Ireland, 1 in 19; Poland, 1 in 23; Austria-Hungary, 1 in 29.

Illiteracy.

(From Report of Commissioner-General of Immigration for 1896.)

Number of persons over fourteen years of age in each hundred immigrants who could not write or could not read and write their own language, from those nations of Europe which sent upwards of 2,000 immigrants to the United States during the fiscal year 1895-96.

Switzerland	0.7
Denmark	0.8
Sweden and Norway	1.0
Germany	2.4
France	4.2
England	4.4
Scotland	4.6
Ireland	6.5
Finland	10.4
Greece	23.9
Russia	32.1
Austria-Hungary	39.5
Italy	46.1
Portugal	58.1

Average United Kingdom, France, Germany and Scandinavia	3.7
Average Austria-Hungary, Italy, Poland and Russia	40.1

NOTE: That the official figures as to illiteracy are not based upon actual tests, but depend for their accuracy upon the truth of the immigrants' answers to the questions put to them. If they were actually required by the inspectors to read and write before admission, the above figures of illiteracy would undoubtedly be larger.

Illiteracy of Italian Immigrants.

(From manifests of 3,174 immigrants over 14 years of age arriving at the Port of New York during April, 1896, on four steamers from Genoa and Naples. This is believed to present a fair average of recent Italian immigration.)

Total immigrants examined	3,174
Percentage of males	89.2
Percentage of females	10.8
Total illiterates	2,147
Percent. of total immigrants who were illiterates	67.6
Percentage of male illiteracy	66.5
Percentage of female illiteracy	75.7
Number debarred under existing laws	197
Percentage debarred of total immigrants	6.2
Number which would have been debarred by a reading and writing test	2,147
Or a percentage of	67.6
Percentage of those who had been in the U.S. before	27.7
Percentage of total immigrants who were laborers	* 85.8

Crime, Insanity and Pauperism.

According to the Census of 1890 [Part II., pp. 169, 174, 182] those of foreign birth or parentage, who are 38 per cent. of the total white population, furnish over $\frac{1}{2}$ the white convicts of the United States, while the foreign-born population, who are about 15 per cent. of the total population furnish $\frac{1}{3}$ of the insane, and nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ of the paupers of the United States.

Distribution of Foreign Born.

(Compiled from Census of 1890, Part I, p. cxxxvi.)

	North Atlantic.	South Atlantic.	North Central.	South Central.	Western.
Great Britain and Ireland	59.5	2.5	27.6	2.4	7.9
France	36.0	2.2	34.1	12.7	14.9
Germany	32.2	2.9	56.4	4.1	4.3
Bohemia	10.4	1.4	84.3	3.1	0.8
Scandinavia	12.7	0.3	76.0	0.8	10.
Austria	49.9	1.7	31.8	8.4	8.1
Hungary	72.9	1.8	22.1	1.4	1.6
Italy	65.0	2.7	12.0	6.7	13.7
Poland	38.4	1.7	57.0	1.7	1.2
Russia	50.9	3.2	38.2	1.5	6.1

"South Atlantic" includes states south of N. J. and Pa.

"South Central" includes states south of the Ohio River and Mo.

NOTE: That only 4.6 per cent. of the Poles and only 4.8 per cent. of the Hungarians, and 10.8 per cent. of the Russians live in the Southern States or in the Western division; altogether only 29,528, scattered in a total population of nearly twenty-three millions. **NOTE:** That while the Non-Atlantic States gain three-fourths of the Germans

* A very large proportion of those not laborers were sailors, and the balance chiefly stone-cutters, shoemakers and barbers.

and Scandinavians, the Atlantic States are burdened with two-thirds of the Russians, Hungarians and Italians.

Rural and Urban Distribution.

It is said that there is plenty of room in this country in the West on farms and ranches to receive an unlimited number of immigrants of whatever character they may be.

In considering this statement the following figures are of interest: [From Bureau of Statistics, Quarterly Report No. 2, 1892.] Of a total foreign born population of 9,249,547 in 1890, 4,081,927, or 44 per cent. of them were found in the 124 principal cities of the U.S.

Of Persons born in Norway	20.8%	live in Cities.
“ “ “ “ England	40.7	“ “ “
“ “ “ “ Germany	47.7	“ “ “
“ “ “ “ Ireland	55.9	“ “ “
“ “ “ “ Poland	57.1	“ “ “
“ “ “ “ Russia	57.9	“ “ “
“ “ “ “ Italy	58.8	“ “ “

TABLES

Showing congestion of recent immigration and of that most affected by the illiteracy test in large cities and centers of population.

(From the Senate Report No. 290, 54th Congress, 1st Session, 1896.)

In 1890 there were 147,740 persons in this country born in Poland. Of these there were in the States of —

New York	22,718
Pennsylvania	25,191
Illinois	28,878
Michigan	15,669
Wisconsin	17,660
Total	110,116

Now, let us see how they are distributed within these States.

Illinois:

Cook County (Chicago)	25,336
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Michigan:

Wayne County (Detroit)	5,599
Manistee County	2,607
Bay County	1,973
Kent County	1,175

New York:

Erie County (Buffalo)	8,929
New York County (New York)	6,759
Kings County (Brooklyn)	1,957

Pennsylvania:

Allegheny County (Pittsburg)	3,343
Luzerne County	7,408

Pennsylvania :

Northumberland County	2,083
Philadelphia County (Philadelphia)	2,189
Schuylkill County	4,492

Wisconsin :

Milwaukee County (Milwaukee)	10,066
Portage County	2,070

In 1890 there were 182,580 Italians. Of these there were in Massachusetts 8,066, and 4,799 in Suffolk County (Boston). In New York, 64,141, of which 39,951 were in New York County (city of New York); Kings County (Brooklyn), 9,789; Westchester County, 1,820; Erie County (Buffalo), 1,908. In Pennsylvania, 24,662, of which 6,799 were in Philadelphia County; Allegheny County (Pittsburg), 3,498; Luzerne County, 1,661. In New Jersey, 12,989, of which 3,598 were in Essex County; Hudson County (Jersey City), 3,039. In Illinois, 8,035, of which 5,734 were in Cook County (Chicago). In Louisiana, 7,767, of which 3,622 were in Orleans County (New Orleans). In California, 15,495, of which 5,212 were in San Francisco.

There were 182,644 from Russia. Of these there were in the States of—

New York	58,466
Pennsylvania	17,315
Massachusetts	7,325
Connecticut	3,027
South Dakota	12,398
Michigan	11,889
Illinois	8,407
Kansas	9,801

Of these New York City had 48,790; Brooklyn, 3,397; Rochester, 1,085; Albany, 479; Syracuse, 774; Elmira, 108; Long Island City, 121.

There were in Boston 4,305, or more than attributed to Massachusetts; Philadelphia, 7,879; Chicago, 7,683; New Haven, 1,160; Hartford, 492; Bridgeport, 102; Waterbury, 123.

One-half of these Russians are found in the Atlantic division, or 89,896, and in the Central division, 69,907.

Philadelphia has	7,897
Pittsburg	2,279
Scranton	488
Wilkesbarre	149

Kansas :

Marion County	316
Ellis County	1,269
McPherson County	1,654

Michigan :

Portland County	3,521
Gogebic County	1,129
Marquette County	2,563

In 1880 there were only 8,967 of these in the 50 principal cities. In 1890 there were 98,355.

Destination of Recent Immigrants.

The following tables are the result of a visit to the Immigrant Station on Ellis Island, N.Y., by members of the Executive Committee of the League. About 1,000 immigrants over 16 years of age were examined:

	Penn.	N.Y.	Other Atlantic.	Middle.	Central and Western.	Atlantic.	Non- Atlantic.
Germans	17%	41%	8%	22%	12%	66%	34%
Bohemians	0	30	0	23	47	30	70
Finns	7	21	41	7	24	69	31
Russians	23	51	17	7	2	91	9
Hungarians	54	21	20	5	0	95	5
Galicians	33	18	31	14	4	82	18
Croats, etc.	50	21	3	12	14	74	26
Syrians	0	77	13	0	10	90	10
Russians	42	28	19	7	3	89.2	10.8
Hungarians							
Galicians							
Croats and Syrians							

Other Atlantic comprises N.H., Mass., Conn., N.J., Del., Md. and W. Va. Middle comprises Ohio, Ind., Ill., Mich., Wis. and Ky. Central and Western comprises Minn., Iowa, Mo., Texas, Kan., Neb., Col., Wyo. and Mont. The boundary lines are, roughly, the western boundary of Penn. and the Mississippi river. The above States, together with N.Y., Penn. and Ga., were the only ones given by immigrants as their destination.

NOTE: No immigrant gave any Southern State as his destination, except one German going to Georgia.

From Reports of the Commissioner-General of Immigration.

	1895.	1896.
Per cent. of total immigration destined for the four States of Ill., Mass., N. Y. and Pa.	72	72
Per cent. of total immigration destined for States south of the Potomac river, Pa., and the Ohio river, or West of the Mississippi river		11

Destination of Illiterates.

	By Numbers.						By Percentages.	
	Penn.	N.Y.	Other Atlantic.	Middle.	Central and Western.	Atlantic.	Non- Atlantic.	Non- Atlantic.
Russians	11	28	11	4	1	50	5	91%
Hungarians	76	20	34	4	0	130	4	97
Galicians	25	12	26	11	5	63	16	80
Croats, etc.	20	8	0	4	4	28	8	78
Syrians	0	21	2	0	4	23	4	85
Totals,	132	89	73	23	14	294	37	89

Only 11 illiterates were destined to the South, 1 Hungarian going to Delaware, 3 to West Virginia, and 2 Galicians to Maryland, while the 5 who were going to Missouri were sent before the Board of Special Inquiry on suspicion of being contract laborers and were admitted for lack of evidence.

Italian Immigrants.

From examination of the manifests of 3,174 immigrants over 14 years of age arriving at the port of New York, on four steamers from Genoa and Naples, it appeared that 95.3% were destined for New England, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

Of those destined for "other States" 31 or less than 1% were bound to States west of the Mississippi river, and only 11 to States south of Pennsylvania and the Ohio river, while only 3 were going to the Southern States proper.

NOTE: That an educational test as a measure of restriction would not affect in any important degree the Western and Southern States, many of which are naturally desirous of obtaining a large immigration; because the races like the Germans, Scandinavians, Bohemians, French and English would be little affected by an educational test, largely go West, while the illiterate races such as the Hungarians, Galicians and Italians remain to lower the standards of the already crowded Atlantic territory, as appears by the tables on pp. 4 and 5, above.

Illiterates and Slums.

The Seventh Special Report of the U. S. Commissioner of Labor (1894) shows (p. 44) that the proportion of those of foreign birth or parentage to the total population in the slums of Baltimore was 77 per cent., in Chicago 90 per cent., in New York 95 per cent., and in Philadelphia 91 per cent. The figures for the foreign born alone are correspondingly striking. It appears from the same Report (p. 160-3) that of every 100 aliens, 40 were illiterate in the slums of Baltimore, 47 in Chicago, 59 in New York, and 51 in Philadelphia; and that of every 100 of these illiterate aliens there were 67 males of voting age in Baltimore, 77 in Chicago, 78 in New York, and 85 in Philadelphia.

The proportion in which the literate and illiterate nationalities contribute to the slum population is shown by the following tables, compiled from the same Report, pp. 41, 72:

<i>Austria-Hungary, Italy, Poland and Russia.</i>		<i>United Kingdom, France, Germany and Scandinavia.</i>	
Per cent. of Total Population.	Per cent. of Slum Population.	Per cent. of Total Population.	Per cent. of Slum Population.
Baltimore.			
1.97	12.72	13.52	27.29
Chicago.			
6.41	44.44	30.70	10.64
New York.			
9.45	51.11	30.73	8.64
Philadelphia.			
1.95	50.28	22.95	8.44

NOTE: *That Southeastern Europe furnishes 3 times as many inhabitants as Northwestern Europe to the slums of Baltimore, 19 times as many to the slums of New York, 20 times as many to the slums of Chicago, 71 times as many to the slums of Philadelphia.*

The comparative degree of illiteracy of foregoing elements of slums is as follows for the above-mentioned four cities:

Scandinavia	5.6%
Great Britain	7.0
France	10.2
Germany	21.9
Ireland	40.4
Average of Group	25.5
Austria-Hungary	16.6
Russia	37.1
Poland	46.1
Italy	66.4
Average of Group	54.5
Native Americans	7.4

Assimilation.

By Census of 1890, Part II., p. 683, out of the total foreign-born males over 21 years of age, 32.8 per cent. were not naturalized; i.e., nearly 1-3 of the foreign adult males are not citizens. And out of the total male population of the U.S. over 21 years of age, 7 per cent. are aliens. Of the 1,189,452 aliens in the U.S., 32.6 per cent. do not speak English.

From the Census of 1890 [Part II., pp. 600, 688], it appears that the proportion of the foreign-born of the various races who were still aliens, was as follows:

Slav	21.4%	British	9.3%
Latin	29.7	Germanic	9.7
Asiatic	85.7	Scandinavian	13.2
Average	32.0	Average	9.9

Nationalities of Immigrants desired by the States.

(From Report of the Immigration Investigating Commission, January, 1896. The Commission sent letters to the Governors of all the States asking what nationalities of immigrants were preferred in their several States.)

Of 52 preferences for different nationalities of immigrants expressed in these replies

- 15 are for Germans.
- 14 are for Scandinavians.
- 12 are for English, Scotch, or Irish.
- 3 are for French.
- 2 are for Swiss.
- 2 are for Italians.
- 1 is for Hollanders.
- 1 is for Belgians.
- 1 is for "North of Europe."
- 1 is for Americans.

NOTE: That there are only 2 calls for immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe, and these are both for Italians. One of the Governors asking for Italians expressly states that he is "not sure that immigrants from any foreign country are desirable as laborers" in his State, and the other says "that unskilled labor is not desired" in his State, but that farmers with small means are highly desirable. As very few of the Italian immigrants now coming to this country settle down and become independent farmers, but are almost entirely unskilled laborers, it may be concluded that in the second case Italian immigration of its present character is not desired.

NOTE: That there is no call for Poles, Russians, Hungarians, Bohemians, or the other races of Southern and Eastern Europe and of Asia.

NOTE: That the immigrants from Northern and Western Europe, such as the English, Irish, Scotch, Germans, Scandinavians and French, who are desired as immigrants in all parts of the United States, are as a whole well educated, there being on the average only four per cent. of illiteracy among them, while the illiteracy of the immigrants from Austria-Hungary, Italy, Russia and Poland is over thirty per cent. An educational test, therefore, requiring every immigrant to be able to read and write before gaining admission to the United States, would debar a considerable number of the undesirable classes, while it would interfere very little with the immigration from the North and West of Europe.

IMMIGRATION.

Its Effects upon the United States.

REASONS FOR FURTHER RESTRICTION.

Immigration by Decades, 1820 to 1890.

(From the Report of the Supt. of Immigration for the year ending June 30, 1892.)

1820—1830	128,393	
1830—1840	539,391	
1840—1850	1,423,337	
1850—1860	2,799,423	
1860—1870	1,964,061	[The War Period.]
1870—1880	2,834,040	
1880—1890	5,246,613	

The Yearly Average, 1880-1890, was 524,661. Immigration 1880-1890 was 35.1 per cent. of the entire arrivals in U.S. 1820-1890.

Immigration by Years from 1885.

(From Reports of Superintendent and Bureau of Immigration.)

1885	395,346	
1886	334,203	
1887	490,109	
1888	546,881	
1889	444,427	
1890	455,302	
1891	560,319	
1892	579,663	
1893	440,793	[The Cholera Year.]
1894	288,020	[The Panic Year.]
1895	258,536	
1896	343,267	

NOTE: That the figures for 1896 show an increase over 1895 of 84,731, or nearly one-third, and a return to the conditions existing prior to the panic.

Recent Changes in the Nationality of Immigrants.

(Specially prepared for the League from Quarterly Report Bureau Statistic No. 2, Series 1892-1893, and Reports of Superintendent of Immigration.)

	Immigrants from Austria-Hungary, Italy, Poland and Russia.	Immigrants from United Kingdom, France, Germany and Scandinavia.
1869	3,515	260,083
1880	36,812	292,903
1886	71,734	240,770
1887	124,781	332,748
1890	154,873	262,749
1891	222,020	292,059
1892	259,967	312,502
1893 *	188,149	212,169
1894 †	122,834	137,217
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1890	34.0	57.7
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NOTE: In 1869 the immigrants from Austria-Hungary, Italy, Russia and Poland were about 1-100th of the number from the United Kingdom, France, Germany and Scandinavia; in 1880 about 1-10th; in 1894 nearly equal to it; in 1896 1-3d greater.

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Countries which Send us Skilled Labor.

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Illiteracy.

(Compiled from the Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration for the year ending June 30, 1896.)

PERCENTAGES OF ILLITERACY AMONG IMMIGRANTS FROM THOSE NATIONS OF EUROPE WHICH SENT UPWARDS OF 2,000 IMMIGRANTS TO THE UNITED STATES DURING THE FISCAL YEAR 1895-96.

Coming from North-western Europe.



Average of Group, 4.5%.

Switzerland	0.8%
Denmark	0.9
Sweden and Norway	1.2
Germany	3.0
France	4.9
England	5.4
Scotland	5.7
Ireland	7.0
Finland	11.8

Coming from Eastern and Southern Europe.



Average of Group, 47.9%.

The black part shows the proportion of those over fourteen years of age who could not read and write in any language.

Greece	26.2%
Russia	41.1
Austria-Hungary	45.0
Italy	54.6
Portugal	77.7

NOTE: That the official figures as to illiteracy are not based upon actual tests, but depend for their accuracy upon the truth of the immigrants' answers to the questions put to them. If they were actually required by the inspectors to read and write before admission, the above figures of illiteracy would undoubtedly be larger.

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Percentage of males	89.2
Percentage of females	10.8
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Percentage of male illiteracy	66.5
Percentage of female illiteracy	75.7
Number debarred under existing laws	197
Percentage debarred of total immigrants	6.2
Number which would have been debarred by a reading and writing test	2,147
Or a percentage of	67.6
Percentage of those who had been in the U.S. before	27.7
Percentage of total immigrants who were laborers	* 85.8

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According to the Census of 1890 [Part II., pp. 169, 174, 182] those of foreign birth or parentage, who are 38 per cent. of the total white population, furnish over $\frac{1}{2}$ the white convicts of the United States, while the foreign-born population, who are about 15 per cent. of the total population, furnish $\frac{1}{3}$ of the insane, and nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ of the paupers of the United States.

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(Compiled from Census of 1890, Part I., p. cxxxvi.)

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France	36.0	2.2	34.1	12.7	14.9
Germany	32.2	2.9	56.4	4.1	4.3
Bohemia	10.4	1.4	84.3	3.1	0.8
Scandinavia	12.7	0.3	76.0	0.8	10.
Austria	49.9	1.7	31.8	8.4	8.1
Hungary	72.9	1.8	22.1	1.4	1.6
Italy	65.0	2.7	12.0	6.7	13.7
Poland	38.4	1.7	57.0	1.7	1.2
Russia	50.9	3.2	38.2	1.5	6.1

"South Atlantic" includes States south of N. J. and Pa.

"South Central" includes States south of the Ohio River and Mo.

NOTE: That only 4.6 per cent. of the Poles and only 4.8 per cent. of the Hungarians, and 10.8 per cent. of the Russians live in the Southern States or in the Western division; altogether only 29,528, scattered in a total population of nearly twenty-three millions. **NOTE:** That while the Non-Atlantic States gain three-fourths of the Germans

* A very large proportion of those not laborers were sailors, and the balance chiefly stone-cutters, shoemakers and barbers.

and Scandinavians, the Atlantic States are burdened with two-thirds of the Russians, Hungarians and Italians.

Rural and Urban Distribution.

It is said that there is plenty of room in this country in the West on farms and ranches to receive an unlimited number of immigrants of whatever character they may be.

In considering this statement the following figures are of interest: [From Bureau of Statistics, Quarterly Report No. 2, 1892.] Of a total foreign born population of 9,249,547 in 1890, 4,081,927, or 44 per cent. of them were found in the 124 principal cities of the U.S.

Of Persons born in Norway	20.8%	live in Cities.
“ “ “ “ England	40.7	“ “ “
“ “ “ “ Germany	47.7	“ “ “
“ “ “ “ Ireland	55.9	“ “ “
“ “ “ “ Poland	57.1	“ “ “
“ “ “ “ Russia	57.9	“ “ “
“ “ “ “ Italy	58.8	“ “ “

TABLES.

Showing congestion of recent immigration and of that most affected by the illiteracy test in large cities and centers of population.

(From the Senate Report No. 290, 54th Congress, 1st Session, 1896.)

In 1890 there were 147,740 persons in this country born in Poland. Of these there were in the States of—

New York	22,718
Pennsylvania	25,191
Illinois	28,878
Michigan	15,669
Wisconsin	17,660
Total	110,116

Now, let us see how they are distributed within these States.

Illinois:

Cook County (Chicago)	25,336
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Michigan:

Wayne County (Detroit)	5,599
Manistee County	2,607
Bay County	1,973
Kent County	1,175

New York:

Erie County (Buffalo)	8,929
New York County (New York)	6,759
Kings County (Brooklyn)	1,957

Pennsylvania:

Allegheny County (Pittsburg)	3,343
Luzerne County	7,408

Pennsylvania :

Northumberland County	2,083
Philadelphia County (Philadelphia)	2,189
Schuylkill County	4,492

Wisconsin :

Milwaukee County (Milwaukee)	10,066
Portage County	2,070

In 1890 there were 182,580 Italians. Of these there were in Massachusetts 8,066, and 4,799 in Suffolk County (Boston). In New York, 64,141, of which 39,951 were in New York County (city of New York); Kings County (Brooklyn), 9,789; Westchester County, 1,820; Erie County (Buffalo), 1,908. In Pennsylvania, 24,662, of which 6,799 were in Philadelphia County; Allegheny County (Pittsburg), 3,498; Luzerne County, 1,661. In New Jersey, 12,989, of which 3,598 were in Essex County; Hudson County (Jersey City), 3,039. In Illinois, 8,035, of which 5,734 were in Cook County (Chicago). In Louisiana, 7,767, of which 3,622 were in Orleans County (New Orleans). In California, 15,495 of which 5,212 were in San Francisco.

There were 182,644 from Russia. Of these there were in the States of—

New York	58,466
Pennsylvania	17,315
Massachusetts	7,325
Connecticut	3,027
South Dakota	12,398
Michigan	11,889
Illinois	8,407
Kansas	9,801

Of these New York City had 48,790; Brooklyn, 3,397; Rochester, 1,085; Albany, 479; Syracuse, 774; Elmira, 108; Long Island City, 121.

There were in Boston 4,305, or more than attributed to Massachusetts; Philadelphia, 7,879; Chicago, 7,683; New Haven, 1,160; Hartford, 492; Bridgeport, 102; Waterbury, 123.

One-half of these Russians are found in the Atlantic division, or 89,896, and in the Central division, 69,907.

Philadelphia has	7,897
Pittsburg	2,279
Scranton	488
Wilkesbarre	149

Kansas :

Marion County	316
Ellis County	1,269
McPherson County	1,654

Michigan :

Portland County	3,521
Gogebic County	1,129
Marquette County	2,563

In 1880 there were only 8,967 of these in the 50 principal cities. In 1890 there were 98,355.

Destination of Recent Immigrants.

The following tables are the result of a visit to the Immigrant Station on Ellis Island, N.Y., by members of the Executive Committee of the League. About 1,000 immigrants over 16 years of age were examined.

	Penn.	N.Y.	Other Atlantic.	Middle.	Central and Western.	Atlantic.	Non- Atlantic.
Germans	17%	41%	8%	22%	12%	66%	34%
Bohemians	0	30	0	23	47	30	70
Finns	7	21	41	7	24	69	31
Russians	23	51	17	7	2	91	9
Hungarians	54	21	20	5	0	95	5
Galicians	33	18	31	14	4	82	18
Croats, etc.	50	21	3	12	14	74	26
Syrians	0	77	13	0	10	90	10
Russians	42	28	19	7	3	89.2	10.8
Hungarians							
Galicians							
Croats and Syrians							

Other Atlantic comprises N.H., Mass., Conn., N.J., Del., Md. and W. Va. Middle comprises Ohio, Ind., Ill., Mich., Wis. and Ky. Central and Western comprises Minn., Iowa, Mo., Texas, Kan., Neb., Col., Wyo. and Mont. The boundary lines are, roughly, the western boundary of Penn. and the Mississippi river. The above States, together with N.Y., Penn. and Ga., were the only ones given by immigrants as their destination.

NOTE: No immigrant gave any Southern State as his destination, except one German going to Georgia.

From Reports of the Commissioner-General of Immigration.

	1895.	1896.
Per cent. of total immigration destined for the four States of Ill., Mass., N.Y. and Penn.	72	72
Per cent. of total immigration destined for States south of the Potomac river, Penn., and the Ohio river, or west of the Mississippi river		11

Destination of Illiterates.

	By Numbers.					By Percentages.		
	Penn.	N.Y.	Other Atlantic.	Middle.	Central and Western.	Non- Atlantic.	Atlantic.	Non- Atlantic.
Russians	11	28	11	4	1	50	5	91%
Hungarians	76	20	34	4	0	130	4	97
Galicians	25	12	26	11	5	63	16	80
Croats, etc.	20	8	0	4	4	28	8	78
Syrians	0	21	2	0	4	23	4	85
Totals	132	89	73	23	14	294	37	89

Only 11 illiterates were destined to the South, 1 Hungarian going to Delaware, 3 to West Virginia, and 2 Galicians to Maryland, while the 5 who were going to Missouri were sent before the Board of Special Inquiry on suspicion of being contract laborers and were admitted for lack of evidence.

Italian Immigrants.

From examination of the manifests of 3,174 immigrants over 14 years of age arriving at the port of New York, on four steamers from Genoa and Naples, it appeared that 95.3% were destined for New England, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

Of those destined for "other States" 31 or less than 1% were bound to States west of the Mississippi river, and only 11 to States south of Pennsylvania and the Ohio river, while only 3 were going to the Southern States proper.

NOTE: That an educational test as a measure of restriction would not affect in any important degree the Western and Southern States, many of which are naturally desirous of obtaining a large immigration; because the races like the Germans, Scandinavians, Bohemians, French and English, which would be little affected by an educational test, largely go West, while the illiterate races, such as the Hungarians, Galicians and Italians, remain to lower the standards of the already crowded Atlantic territory, as appears by the tables on pp. 4 and 5, above.

Illiterates and Slums.

The Seventh Special Report of the U.S. Commissioner of Labor (1894) shows (p. 44) that the proportion of those of foreign birth or parentage to the total population in the slums of Baltimore was 77 per cent., in Chicago 90 per cent., in New York 95 per cent., and in Philadelphia 91 per cent. The figures for the foreign born alone are correspondingly striking. It appears from the same Report (p. 160-3) that of every 100 aliens, 40 were illiterate in the slums of Baltimore, 47 in Chicago, 59 in New York, and 51 in Philadelphia; and that of every 100 of these illiterate aliens there were 67 males of voting age in Baltimore, 77 in Chicago, 78 in New York, and 85 in Philadelphia.

The proportion in which the literate and illiterate nationalities contribute to the slum population is shown by the following tables, compiled from the same Report, pp. 41, 72:

<i>Austria-Hungary, Italy, Poland and Russia.</i>		<i>United Kingdom, France, Germany and Scandinavia.</i>	
Per cent. of Total Population.	Per cent. of Slum Population.	Per cent. of Total Population.	Per cent. of Slum Population.
Baltimore.			
1.97	12.72	13.52	27.29
Chicago.			
6.41	44.44	30.70	10.64
New York.			
9.45	51.11	30.73	8.64
Philadelphia.			
1.95	50.28	22.95	8.44

NOTE: That Southeastern Europe furnishes 3 times as many inhabitants as Northwestern Europe to the slums of Baltimore, 19 times as many to the slums of New York, 20 times as many to the slums of Chicago, 71 times as many to the slums of Philadelphia.

The comparative degree of illiteracy of foregoing elements of slums is as follows for the above-mentioned four cities:

Scandinavia	5.6%
Great Britain	7.0
France	10.2
Germany	21.9
Ireland	40.4
Average of Group	25.5
Austria-Hungary	16.6
Russia	37.1
Poland	46.1
Italy	66.4
Average of Group	54.5
Native Americans	7.4

Assimilation.

By Census of 1890, Part II., p. 683, out of the total foreign-born males over 21 years of age, 32.8 per cent. were not naturalized; i.e., nearly 1-3 of the foreign adult males are not citizens. And out of the total male population of the U.S. over 21 years of age, 7 per cent. are aliens. Of the 1,189,452 aliens in the U.S., 32.6 per cent. do not speak English.

From the Census of 1890 [Part II., pp. 600, 688], it appears that the proportion of the foreign-born of the various races who were still aliens was as follows:

Slav	21.4%	British	9.3%
Latin	29.7	Germanic	9.7
Asiatic	85.7	Scandinavian	13.2
Average	32.0	Average	9.9

Nationalities of Immigrants desired by the States.

(From Report of the Immigration Investigating Commission, January, 1896. The Commission sent letters to the Governors of all the States asking what nationalities of immigrants were preferred in their several States.)

Of 52 preferences for different nationalities of immigrants expressed in these replies

- 15 are for Germans.
- 14 are for Scandinavians.
- 12 are for English, Scotch, or Irish.
- 3 are for French.
- 2 are for Swiss.
- 2 are for Italians.
- 1 is for Hollanders.
- 1 is for Belgians.
- 1 is for "North of Europe."
- 1 is for Americans.

NOTE : That there are only 2 calls for immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe, and these are both for Italians. One of the Governors asking for Italians expressly states that he is "not sure that immigrants from any foreign country are desirable as laborers" in his State, and the other says "that unskilled labor is not desired" in his State, but that farmers with small means are highly desirable. As very few of the Italian immigrants now coming to this country settle down and become independent farmers, but are almost entirely unskilled laborers, it may be concluded that in the second case Italian immigration of its present character is not desired.

NOTE : That there is no call for Poles, Russians, Hungarians, Bohemians, or the other races of Southern and Eastern Europe and of Asia.

NOTE : That the immigrants from Northern and Western Europe, such as the English, Irish, Scotch, Germans, Scandinavians and French, who are desired as immigrants in all parts of the United States, are as a whole well educated, there being on the average only four per cent. of illiteracy among them, while the illiteracy of the immigrants from Austria-Hungary, Italy, Russia and Poland is over forty per cent. An educational test, therefore, requiring every immigrant to be able to read and write before gaining admission to the United States, would debar a considerable number of the undesirable classes, while it would interfere very little with the immigration from the North and West of Europe.

Legislation.

The only classes of persons excluded from this country under our present immigration laws (not considering Chinese immigration) are the following: I. *Idiots* ; II. *Insane persons* ; III. *Paupers or persons likely to become a public charge* ; IV. *Persons with a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease* ; V. *Persons who have been convicted of felony or other infamous crime or misdemeanor involving moral turpitude* ; VI. *Polygamists* ; VII. "*Assisted immigrants*," unless on special inquiry they are found not to belong to any of the foregoing excluded classes ; VIII. *Contract laborers* ; IX. *Women imported for purposes of prostitution*.

NOTE: There are three general misconceptions regarding our present immigration laws. *The first* is that we now require a careful examination of all intending immigrants in Europe, before they embark, and in this way the least desirable element is very largely prevented from coming here. *The second*, that persons who cannot read and write are at present debarred from landing. *The third*, that every immigrant must have \$30 in order to be admitted. None of these is true.

Advantages of the Educational Test as a Means of further Restricting Immigration.

1. Excludes the people we wish to exclude; *i.e.*, those who are degraded, ignorant alike of their own language and of any occupation, incapable of appreciating our institutions and standards of living, and very difficult of assimilation.
2. Adds to the excluded classes.
3. In practice would be applied at place where ticket bought and applied by steamship companies, therefore
4. Does not imply any great change in existing machinery, or any large increase in consular service and expense.
5. Inspection is not committed to persons in remote countries where surveillance is difficult, but remains a uniform system, which is public and easily controlled.
6. Is exact and definite in its operation; easily and simply applied, and therefore
7. Diminishes the labor of the boards of special inquiry, and gives the immigration officials opportunity for a more thorough inspection.
8. Secures rudimentary education on the part of all foreigners applying for naturalization papers and American citizenship.

9. Promotes education among those who desire to emigrate, and to that extent improves the social condition of Europe.
10. Saves the hardship to the immigrant of making the voyage in doubt as to his admission or exclusion, and therefore
11. Does away in large part with the separation of families, and with a temptation to a lax enforcement of inspection, in order to prevent such separation. Intending immigrants can tell before starting whether they are eligible or not, and can decide whether to separate or not.

For publications and membership in the Immigration Restriction League, address PRESCOTT F. HALL, Secretary, Fiske Building, Boston. The dues for membership are as follows: for *annual* membership, one dollar, payable in advance upon admission and upon January 1st of each year; for *life* membership, ten dollars, payable upon admission, life members being exempt from annual dues.

The League is a strictly non-partisan and non-sectarian organization, with members from all parts of the United States. It advocates a stricter regulation of immigration, but not the exclusion of any immigrants whose character and standards fit them to become citizens.

It advocates as an important means thereto the exclusion of "All persons between fourteen and sixty years of age who cannot both read and write the English language or some other language."

Bibliography of Recent Literature on Immigration.

Public Library
of the
City of Boston.

The present brief bibliography has been specially prepared by the Immigration Restriction League for the use of debating clubs and for general reading. It includes the titles of a few of the more important articles on the Immigration Problem which have appeared during the last six years. The plan has been to select publications which set forth the main points in the present discussion of the problem, and which are easily accessible to most readers.

The following general outline of an argument for the further restriction of immigration is presented as a possible aid in the preparation of a debate on this question:

1. Immigrants are not needed; (a) the force of unskilled labor is large enough; (b) immigrants are largely unskilled laborers.

2. Immigration does not increase the wealth of the country; (a) the wealth that immigration brings into the country is less than that taken out; (b) the value of the immigrant depends solely on the use that can be made of him.

3. Immigrants lower the standard of living; (a) by cheap labor; (b) by willingness to live in a depraved condition.

4. Immigrants are a menace to our national institutions; (a) by foreign speech and customs; (b) by grouping in isolated bodies; (c) because they do not appreciate our institutions and are not interested in preserving them.

5. Immigration is injurious to the moral condition of the United States; (a) our prisons, work-houses, and reformatories are largely filled with those of foreign birth and parentage; (b) the quality of our immigration is rapidly deteriorating.

6. Immigration can be restricted by the enactment of laws.

GENERAL REFERENCES.

"Emigration and Immigration." By Richmond Mayo-Smith. New York. Scribners. 1892. (The best general book on the subject. Contains a useful bibliography.)

"Un-American Immigration." By Rena M. Atchison. Chicago. Charles H. Kerr & Co. 1894.

"Chinese Immigration." By George F. Seward. New York. Scribners. 1881.

Report on the Importation of Contract Labor. 50th Congress, 2d Session. House Report No. 3792. 1889.

Report of the Select Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. 51st Congress, 2d Session. House Report No. 3472. 1891. (The Owen Report.)

Report of the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. 52d Congress, 1st Session. House Report No. 2090. 1892. (The Stump Report.)

✓ Report of the Senate Committee on Immigration, 52d Congress, 2d Session. Senate Report No. 1333. 1893. (The Chandler Report.)

Report of the Senate Committee on Immigration. 54th Congress, 1st Session. Senate Report No. 290. 1896. (The Lodge Report, reprinted as Senate Report No. 13, 55th Congress, 1st Session, 1897.)

✓ ¹ Report of the Immigration Investigating Commission. 1895.

✓ ¹ Immigration Laws and Regulations. 1893.

✓ ¹ Annual Reports of the Commissioner-General of Immigration. Eleventh Census of the United States.

² Seventh Special Report of the Commissioner of Labor. 1894.

Various publications of the Immigration Restriction League (sent on application to the Secretary).

¹ These publications can be procured from the Commissioner-General of Immigration, Washington, D.C.

² This report can be procured from the Commissioner of Labor, Washington, D.C.

AFFIRMATIVE.

THE RESTRICTION OF IMMIGRATION. Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge. *North American Review*. Vol. 152, 27. (January, 1891.)

METHODS OF RESTRICTING IMMIGRATION. Hon. Wm. E. Chandler. *Forum*. Vol. 13, 128. (March, 1892.)

LYNCH LAW AND UNRESTRICTED IMMIGRATION. Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge. *North American Review*. Vol. 152, p. 602. (May, 1891.)

OUR NATIONAL DUMPING-GROUND. Charles Stewart Smith. *North American Review*. Vol. 154, 432. (April, 1892.)

THE IMMIGRATION QUESTION. John H. Noble. *Political Science Quarterly*. Vol. 7, 232.

THE MINE LABORERS IN PENNSYLVANIA. Henry Rood. *Forum*. Vol. 14, 110. (September, 1892.)

ALIEN DEGRADATION OF AMERICAN CHARACTER. Sydney G. Fisher. *Forum*. Vol. 14, 608. (January, 1893.)

THE CENSUS AND IMMIGRATION. Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge. *Century*. Vol. 46, 737. (September, 1893.)

RESTRICTION OF IMMIGRATION. Gen. Francis A. Walker. *Atlantic Monthly*. Vol. 77, 822. (June, 1896.)

ITALIAN IMMIGRATION. Prescott F. Hall. *North American Review*. Vol. 163, 252. (August, 1896.)

HAS IMMIGRATION INCREASED POPULATION? Sydney G. Fisher. *Popular Science Monthly*. Vol. 48, 244. (December, 1895.)

THE IMMIGRATION QUESTION. Dr. J. H. Senner. *Annals American Academy Political and Social Science*. Vol. 10, 1. (July, 1897.)

IMMIGRATION AND THE EDUCATIONAL TEST. Prescott F. Hall. *North American Review*. Vol. 165, 393. (October, 1897.)

IMMIGRATION, HARD TIMES, AND THE VETO. John Chetwood, Jr. *Arena*. (December, 1897.)

NEGATIVE.

OUR NATIONAL DUMPING-GROUND. John B. Weber. *North American Review*. Vol. 154, 424. (April, 1892.)

INCALCULABLE ROOM FOR IMMIGRANTS. Edward Atkinson. *Forum*. Vol. 13, 360. (May, 1892.)

THE SCANDINAVIANS IN THE NORTHWEST. Kendric C. Babcock. *Forum*. Vol. 14, 103. (September, 1892.)

✓ WHAT IMMIGRANTS CONTRIBUTE TO INDUSTRY. Geo. F. Parker. *Ibid.*, 600. (January, 1893.)

A PRACTICAL REMEDY FOR EVILS OF IMMIGRATION. Gustav H. Schwab. *Ibid.*, 805. (February, 1893.)

HOW WE RESTRICT IMMIGRATION. Hon. J. H. Senner. *North American Review*. Vol. 158, 494. (April, 1894.)

A FEW FACTS AND THOUGHTS ON IMMIGRATION. Hon. J. H. Senner. *Independent*. New York. Vol. 45, 1. (Nov. 2, 1893.)

IMMIGRATION FROM ITALY. Hon. J. H. Senner. *North American Review*. Vol. 162, 649. (June, 1896.)

SHOULD IMMIGRATION BE RESTRICTED? S. G. Croswell. *North American Review*. Vol. 164, 526. (May, 1897.)

Further information as to references, statistics, etc., will be furnished, and the publications of the Immigration Restriction League sent, on application to

PRESCOTT F. HALL, *Secretary*,
Fiske Building, Boston, Mass.

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PUBLICATIONS OF THE IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION LEAGUE No. 18.

TEXT OF IMMIGRATION BILLS

INTRODUCED INTO

55th Congress, First Session.

MARCH — JULY, 1897.

The following five bills are all the immigration bills which have been introduced into the present Congress at the session just passed, and are reprinted in this document in response to numerous requests for information concerning them.

H. R. 1.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

MARCH 15, 1897.

Mr. McCALL introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, and ordered to be printed.

A BILL.

TO AMEND THE IMMIGRATION LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled:

That section one of the Act of March third, eighteen hundred and ninety-one, in amendment of the immigration and contract-labor Acts, be, and hereby is, amended by adding to the classes of aliens thereby excluded from admission to the United States the following:

All persons over fifteen years of age, and physically capable of reading and writing, who cannot both read and write the English language or some other language; but an admissible immigrant or a per-

son now in or hereafter admitted to this country may bring in or send for his wife, his children under eighteen years of age, and his parents or grandparents over fifty years of age, whether they are so able to read and write or not.

SECT. 2. That for the purpose of testing the ability of the immigrant to read and write, as required by the foregoing section, the inspection officers shall be furnished with copies of the Constitution of the United States, printed on numbered uniform pasteboard slips, each containing not less than twenty nor more than twenty-five words of said Constitution, printed in the various languages of the immigrants in double small pica type. These slips shall be kept in boxes made for that purpose, and so constructed as to conceal the slips from view, each box to contain slips of but one language, and the immigrant may designate the language in which he prefers the test shall be made. Each immigrant shall be required to draw one of said slips from the box and read, and afterwards write out in full view of the immigration officers the words printed thereon. Each slip shall be returned to the box immediately after the test is finished, and the contents of the box shall be shaken up by an inspection officer before another drawing is made. An immigrant failing to read and write out the slip thus drawn by him shall not be admitted, but shall be returned to the country from which he came at the expense of the steamship or railroad company which brought him, as now provided by law. The inspection officers shall keep in each box at all times a full number of said printed pasteboard slips, and in the case of each excluded immigrant shall keep a certified memorandum of the number of the slip which the said immigrant failed to read or copy out in writing. If in any case, from any unavoidable cause, the foregoing slips are not at hand for use, the inspection officers shall carefully and thoroughly test the ability of the immigrant to read and write, using the most appropriate and available means at their command, and shall state fully in writing the reason why the slips are lacking, and describe the substitute method adopted for testing the ability of the immigrant.

SECT. 3. That the provisions of the Act of March third, eighteen hundred and ninety-three, to facilitate the enforcement of the immigration and contract-labor laws, shall apply to the persons mentioned in section one of this Act.

SECT. 4. That this Act shall take effect three months after its passage.

Note. — The foregoing bill (H. R. 1) was prepared by the Immigration Restriction League, March, 1897, and was introduced by Mr. McCall at the request of the League. It is similar in wording to that prepared by the League in November, 1895, which became the McCall bill (H. R. 9) and Lodge bill (S. 301) of the Fifty-fourth Congress. The Lodge bill, with the amendment offered by Mr. Corliss, of Michigan, commonly known as the Lodge-Corliss bill, passed both houses of Congress and was vetoed by President Cleveland, March 2, 1897.

The principle of the Educational Test embodied in this bill has the indorsement and approval of the following bodies and individuals, among many others :

Boston Chamber of Commerce, Jan. 22, 1896.
Horseshoers International Union, Buffalo, May 30, 1896.
Common Council and Mayor of Duluth, Minn., March 16, 1896, by a unanimous vote.
Chicago Board of Trade, Dec. 15, 1896.
Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, Dec. 15, 1896.
Arkansas House of Representatives by a vote of 80 to 2, January, 1897.
Hoisting Engineers Association, Chicago, Ill., March, 1897, indorsing the above bill.
Council of Trades and Labor Unions, Detroit, Feb. 11, 1897.
John M. Haines, Esq., Secretary Idaho Immigration Association.
Sewell Davis, Esq., Secretary Montana Mining and Immigration Committee, Butte, Mon.
S. W. Narregang, Esq., Secretary South Dakota Immigration Association.
D. R. McGinnis, Esq., Secretary North Western Immigration Association.
Sixth Congressional District Immigration Association, Aikin, Minn., March 17-18, 1896.
L. B. Wombwell, Esq., Commissioner of Agriculture, Florida.
Mr. Justice Cornell, New York City.
Glass Blowers Association of United States and Canada.
Commercial Travellers of United States, 229 names.
South Dakota Immigration Association.
New York Central Labor Union.
New York Protective Labor Union.
The Legislature of the State of California.
Branch No. 1, American Workmen's Protective League, Brooklyn, N.Y.
National Board of Trade, Philadelphia.
Park Street Club, Boston.
Legislature of State of Washington.
The Bostonian Club, Boston, Mass.

Lodge No. 21, Amalgamated Association of Iron, Tin, and Steel Workers,
 Cambridge, Mass.
 Cigarmakers Union, No. 295, Scranton, Pa.
 Knights of Labor Local Assembly, No. 1562.
 Knights of Labor District Assembly, No. 66, Washington, D.C.
 Legislature of State of Wyoming.
 Cigarmakers Local Union, No. 22, Detroit, Mich.
 Typographical Union, Port Huron, Mich.
 Trades and Labor Council, Port Huron, Mich.
 Cigarmakers Union, Port Huron, Mich.
 Journeymen Barbers Union, Port Huron, Mich.
 Longshoremen's Union, Port Huron, Mich.
 Edison Union, Port Huron, Mich.
 Trades and Labor Assembly, Massillon, Ohio.
 The Nebraska Club.
 Central Labor Union, Brockton, Mass.
 National Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, Cleveland, Sept. 29, 1896.
 S. M. Emery, Esq., Director Montana Agricultural Experiment Station.
 Washington State Immigration Society, Seattle, Washington, Jan. 14, 1896.
 Hon. Thomas Thorson, Secretary of State, Pierre, South Dakota.
 Jas. H. Mills, Esq., Commissioner Bureau of Agriculture, Labor, and
 Industry, Helena, Mon.
 J. H. Brigham, Esq., President of Trustees of Ohio State Penitentiary,
 Delta, Ohio.
 Dr. J. H. Senner, formerly United States Commissioner of Immigration,
 Port of New York.
 Glass Blowers Association of America.
 Glass Bottle Blowers of United States and Canada.
 Seattle Chamber of Commerce, Seattle, Washington.
 Glass Bottle Blowers of Philadelphia.
 General Assembly Knights of Labor, Rochester, N.Y., Nov. 14, 1896.
 Farmers Congress, Indianapolis, Ind., 1896.
 Trades and Labor Assembly of Ohio.
 Journeymen Tailors Union of Bloomington, Ill.
 United Wood Carvers Association, New York, December, 1896.
 Brass Moulders Union, New York City, December, 1896.
 Stair Builders Union, New York City, December, 1896.
 Stone Cutters Union, New York City, December, 1896.
 Typographical Union, New York City, December, 1896.

*In addition to the above, hundreds of petitions representing thousands
 of names, and from every State, were sent to the 54th Congress, on behalf
 of the Lodge and McCall bills.*

A very large number of important names of those favoring any measures for restricting immigration, though not in terms mentioning the educational test, may be added to the above. A few of these are :

Massachusetts House of Representatives, 1895.

Boston Clothing Cutters and Trimmers Union, April 8, 1895.

International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, Local No. 16.

Atlantic Coast Seamen's Union.

National Association of Hatmakers of the United States, New York, Jan. 25, 1895.

Connecticut Branch American Federation of Labor, Hartford, Oct. 14, 1896.

Bricklayers International Union, Worcester, Mass., Jan. 21, 1897.

W. T. Levy, Esq., Inspector of Immigration, Galveston, Texas.

Hon. Wm. Ruhrwein, Labor Commissioner of State of Ohio.

Local Assembly 4907, Pittsburgh, Pa., June, 1897.

H. R. 70.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

MARCH 15, 1897.

Mr. DANFORD introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, and ordered to be printed.

A BILL

ESTABLISHING ADDITIONAL REGULATIONS CONCERNING IMMIGRATION
INTO THE UNITED STATES.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled :

That section one of the Act of March third, eighteen hundred and ninety-one, in amendment of the immigration and contract labor Acts, be, and hereby is, amended by adding to the classes of aliens excluded from admission into the United States the following :

All persons physically capable and over sixteen years of age, who cannot read and write the English language or some other language ; but a person not so able to read and write who is over fifty years of

age, and is the parent or grandparent of a qualified immigrant over twenty-one years of age and capable of supporting such parent or grandparent may accompany such immigrant, or such a parent or grandparent may be sent for and come to join the family of a child or grandchild over twenty-one years of age similarly qualified and capable, and a wife or minor child not so able to read and write may accompany or be sent for, and come to join the husband or parent similarly qualified and capable.

SECT. 2. For the purpose of testing the ability of the immigrant to read and write, as required by the foregoing section, the inspection officers shall be furnished with copies of the Constitution of the United States, printed on numbered uniform pasteboard slips, each containing not less than twenty nor more than twenty-five words of said Constitution printed in the various languages of the immigrants in double small pica type. These slips shall be kept in boxes made for that purpose and so constructed as to conceal the slips from view, each box to contain slips of but one language, and the immigrant may designate the language in which he prefers the test shall be made. Each immigrant shall be required to draw one of said slips from the box and read, and afterwards write out, in full view of the immigration officers, the words printed thereon. Each slip shall be returned to the box immediately after the test is finished, and the contents of the box shall be shaken up by an inspection officer before another drawing is made. No immigrant failing to read and write out the slip thus drawn by him shall be admitted, but he shall be returned to the country from which he came at the expense of the steamship or railroad company which brought him, as now provided by law. The inspection officers shall keep in each box at all times a full number of said printed pasteboard slips, and in the case of each excluded immigrant shall keep a certified memorandum of the number of the slip which the said immigrant failed to read or copy out in writing. If in any case from any unavoidable cause the foregoing slips are not at hand for use, the inspection officers shall carefully and thoroughly test the ability of the immigrant to read and write, using the most appropriate and available means at their command; and shall state fully in writing the reasons why the slips are lacking, and describe the substitute method adopted for testing the ability of the immigrant.

SECT. 3. That the provisions of the act of March third, eighteen hundred and ninety-three, to facilitate the enforcement of the immigra-

tion and contract-labor laws, shall apply to the persons mentioned in section one of this Act.

SECT. 4. That it shall hereafter be unlawful for any male alien who has not in good faith made his declaration before the proper court, of his intention to become a citizen of the United States, to be employed on any public works of the United States, or to come regularly or habitually into the United States by land or water for the purpose of engaging in any mechanical trade or manual labor, for wages or salary, returning from time to time to a foreign country.

SECT. 5. That it shall be unlawful for any person, partnership, company, or corporation knowingly to employ any alien coming into the United States in violation of the next preceding section of this Act: *Provided*, That the provisions of this Act shall not apply to the employment of sailors, deck hands, or other employees of vessels, or railroad train hands, such as conductors, engineers, brakemen, firemen, or baggagemen, whose duties require them to pass over the frontier to reach the termini of their runs, or to boatmen or guides on the lakes and rivers on the northern border of the United States.

SECT. 6. That any violation of the provisions of sections four and five of this Act by any alien or citizen shall be deemed a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine not exceeding five hundred dollars, or by imprisonment for the term of not exceeding one year, or by both such fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the court: *Provided*, That all persons convicted of a violation of section four of this Act shall be deported to the country whence they came.

SECT. 7. That notwithstanding the provisions of this or any other existing law, the Secretary of the Treasury may permit aliens to enter this country for the purpose of teaching new arts or industries under such rules and regulations as he may provide.

Note. — The foregoing bill is practically identical with the Lodge-Corliss bill as it passed the 54th Congress and received the veto of President Cleveland, except that the last two sections of the Lodge-Corliss bill are omitted in this bill. These sections may be found as sections 3 and 4 of Senate Bill No. 112 printed below.

H. R. 74.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

MARCH 15, 1897.

Mr. CORLISS introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, and ordered to be printed.

A BILL

TO AMEND THE IMMIGRATION LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled :

That it shall hereafter be unlawful for any male alien, who has not in good faith made his declaration, before the proper court, of his intention to become a citizen of the United States, to be employed on any public works of the United States.

SECT. 2. That it shall hereafter be unlawful for any male alien, who has not in good faith made his declaration to become a permanent resident of the United States, to come into this country for the purpose of engaging in any mechanical trade or manual labor for wages or salary while retaining his home or residence in a foreign country.

SECT. 3. That it shall be unlawful for any person, partnership, or corporation knowingly to employ any alien coming into the United States in violation of the preceding sections of this Act: *Provided*, That the provisions of this Act shall not apply to the employment of sailors, deck hands, or other employees of vessels, or railroad train hands, such as conductors, engineers, brakemen, firemen, or baggage-men, whose duties require them to pass over the frontier to reach the termini of their runs, or to boatmen or guides on the lakes and rivers on the northern border of the United States.

SECT. 4. That any violation of the provisions of this Act by any alien or citizen shall be deemed a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine not exceeding five hundred dollars, or by imprisonment for the term of not exceeding one year, or by both such fine and imprisonment in the discretion of the court: *Provided*, That all persons convicted of a viola-

tion of sections one and two of this Act shall be deported to the country whence they came.

Note. — This bill has the same general scope, but differs in important details from the bill introduced by Mr. Corliss in the 54th Congress.

S. 112.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

MARCH 16, 1897.

Mr. LODGE introduced the following bill; which was read twice, and referred to the Committee on Immigration.

MARCH 22, 1897.

Reported by Mr. LODGE, without amendment.

A BILL

TO AMEND THE IMMIGRATION LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled :

[Sections 1 and 2 same as H. R. 70 above.]

SECT. 3. That this Act shall not apply to persons arriving in the United States from any port or place in the Island of Cuba during the continuance of the present disorders there, who have heretofore been inhabitants of that island.

SECT. 4. That this Act shall take effect three months after its passage.

Note. — This bill as it stands is the same as the Lodge-Corliss bill as it passed the 54th Congress, with the Corliss amendment omitted.

S. 1051.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

MARCH 22, 1897.

Mr. CHANDLER introduced the following bill; which was read twice, and referred to the Committee on Immigration.

A BILL

TO AMEND THE VARIOUS ACTS RELATIVE TO IMMIGRATION, AND TO PROVIDE FOR THE EXCLUSION OF ALIEN ANARCHISTS.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled :

That no alien anarchist shall hereafter be permitted to land at any port of the United States, or be admitted into the United States, but this prohibition shall not be so construed as to apply to political refugees or political offenders.

SECT. 2. That at the hearing of aliens charged with being anarchists the board of special inquiry shall diligently inquire of the accused, by pertinent questions, as to his antecedents, political opinions, whether he belongs to any society or association of known anarchistic tendencies, and he may examine the person for marks indicative of such membership; he may accept evidence of the immigrant's common reputation as an anarchist, and the orders, decrees, or judgments of foreign governments and police notifications as prima facie evidence, which shall be sufficient, unless successfully controverted, to sustain an order of deportation. The Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized, in case he shall be satisfied that an alien has been allowed to land, or has come into the United States, contrary to the immigration laws, to issue a warrant and cause such alien to be taken into custody and returned to the country whence he came, at the expense of the importing vessel, or if he entered from an adjoining country, of which he is not a citizen, then to the country of his nativity, at the expense of the United States. In such cases the Secretary may authorize any immigration official to summon witnesses, administer oaths, and take testimony, to be submitted to him, and inspectors of immigration may execute such process and make arrests and convey to port of departure all such persons ordered deported.

SECT. 3. That in cases where, upon the trial and conviction of any foreign-born and unnaturalized person of any crime or misdemeanor in any United States court, or court of record of any State or Territory or the District of Columbia, the presiding judge shall certify that from the evidence produced at the trial he is satisfied that such alien is an anarchist, or that he is not attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States and well disposed to the peace and good order of the same, and that his remaining in this country will be a menace to the government, or to the peace and well being of society in general, such convict, in addition to other punishments adjudged, shall be taken before a commissioner of immigration, at a port of entry, who shall order his deportation, at the expense of the United States, to the country from which he came. Should he return to the United States he shall be arrested and sentenced to confinement in the penitentiary for a period not exceeding four years and afterwards again deported.

SECT. 4. That the fact that an immigrant has declared his intention to become a citizen of the United States shall constitute no bar to proceedings against him under this Act or under the Acts to which it is an amendment.

For publications and membership in the Immigration Restriction League, address PRESCOTT F. HALL, Secretary, Fiske Building, Boston. The dues for membership are as follows: For *annual* membership, one dollar, payable in advance upon admission and upon January 1st of each year; for *life* membership, ten dollars, payable upon admission, life members being exempt from annual dues.

The League is a strictly non-partisan and non-sectarian organization, with members from all parts of the United States. It advocates a stricter regulation of immigration, but not the exclusion of any immigrants whose character and standards fit them to become citizens.

All organizations and individuals favoring the enactment of House Bill No. 1 or Senate Bill No. 112 are requested to send their names and addresses to the Secretary of the Immigration Restriction League, Fiske Building, Boston, Mass.

Immigration Figures for 1897.

(From data furnished by the Commissioner-General of Immigration.)

Comparison of the Fiscal Years ending June 30, 1896 and 1897.

	1896.	1897.
Total immigration	343,267	230,832
Decrease in 1897 as compared with 1896		112,435
Per cent of decrease		33
Number debarred from entrance and returned within one year after landing	3,037	1,880
Per cent debarred and returned	0.9	0.8
Total number of illiterate	83,196	44,580
Per cent of illiterate in total immigration over 15 years of age	29	23
Per cent of total immigration coming from Austria-Hungary, Italy, Poland and Russia	52	52
Per cent of total immigration coming from the United Kingdom, France, Germany and Scandinavia	39	38
Average money brought by immigrants in dollars	11	15
Per cent of total immigration having no occupation whatever	36	*
Per cent of total immigration who were farmers, laborers or servants	46	*
Per cent of total immigration destined for the four states of Ill., Mass., N.Y., and Pa.	72	*
Per cent of total immigration destined for states South of the Potomac River, Pa., and the Ohio River, or West of the Mississippi River	11	*

REMARKS.—The fact that immigration which was 1-3 larger in 1896 than in 1895 has fallen in 1897 below that of 1895 is another illustration of the law that the number of immigrants depends upon the degree of industrial activity in this country. And this leads to two important conclusions: first, that immigration will increase again rapidly as business activity increases; second, that the present is the time when the immigration laws can be amended with the least hardship to immigrants and the least disturbance to the immigration service.

* Not yet tabulated, but undoubtedly similar to 1896.

In regard to European immigration in 1897 it may be noted that while the proportion of the total immigration from South Eastern Europe has not diminished, the proportion from North Western Europe which was 52 per cent in 1895 and 39 per cent in 1896 is only 38 per cent this year, — a steady decline.

Of immigrants from particular countries the Swiss, Scotch and Portuguese have this year fallen below the number of 2,000 while the Poles have increased again above that number.

The proportion debarred and returned is steadily diminishing having been 1 per cent in 1895, 0.9 per cent in 1896 and being 0.8 per cent this year.

There has been some decrease in general illiteracy and an increase in the average amount of money brought by each immigrant, as compared with last year.

ILLITERACY.

Number of persons in each hundred immigrants over fifteen years of age who cannot write or cannot read and write their own language, from those nations of Europe which sent upwards of 2,000 immigrants to the United States during the past fiscal year :

Denmark	0.5
Sweden	0.9
Norway	1.1
Germany	1.8
England	4.1
France	4.3
Ireland	6.4
Finland	8.2
Russia	27.9
Austria-Hungary	28.1
Poland	39.4
Italy	50.9
Average United Kingdom, France, Germany and Scandinavia	3.6
Average Austria-Hungary, Italy, Poland and Russia	39.9
Average from all countries	23.2

Countries which Send us Skilled Labor.

(From report Superintendent of Immigration for 1893.)

Of the immigrants sent to us in 1893 by the various countries of Europe, but a small proportion were skilled workmen. Thus among immigrants from Scotland there was one skilled in 4; from England and Wales, 1 in 5; Belgium, 1 in 7; France, 1 in 9; Germany and Norway, 1 in 10; Italy, one in 14; Russia, 1 in 18; Ireland, 1 in 19; Poland, 1 in 23; Austria-Hungary, 1 in 29.

For publications and membership in the Immigration Restriction League, address PRESCOTT F. HALL, Secretary, Fiske Building, Boston. The dues for membership are as follows : For *annual* membership, one dollar, payable in advance upon admission and upon January 1st of each year ; for *life* membership, ten dollars, payable upon admission, life members being exempt from annual dues.

The League is a strictly non-partisan and non-sectarian organization, with members from all parts of the United States. It advocates a stricter regulation of immigration, but not the exclusion of any immigrants whose character and standards fit them to become citizens.

FOREIGN STEAMSHIP AGITATION

AGAINST THE

Immigration Restriction Bill.

The following is a copy of a telegram sent by H. C. Claussenius & Co., general western agents for the North German Lloyd Steamship Company in Chicago to F. W. A. Poppe, Milbank, S. Dak.:

Immigration bill comes up in the House Wednesday; wire your congressman, our expense, protesting against proposed exclusion and requesting bill be defeated, informing him that vote in favor means defeat next election.

(Signed) H. CLAUSSENIUS & CO.

This telegram was sent Jan. 26, 1897. Mr. Claussenius stated in an interview in the Chicago "Times-Herald," Jan. 28, 1897, that "we sent similar messages to more than two hundred men. They are agents of the North German Lloyd who have been appointed to this office, but many of them doubtless represent other lines as well. The immigration bill menaces our business and the business of these agents. It also threatens to end emigration to the western States. We believe we have a legitimate right to use our influence to defeat a measure which may cause such widespread injury, and we acted on the assumption that the men we wired felt the same."

The following letter was sent by the same firm to the steamship agents:

CHICAGO, Jan. 25, 1897.

To Agents:

The immigration bill, which is intended to materially restrict immigration, comes up for final disposition in the House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., on Wednesday, 27th instant.

It is quite clear that immigration will really be restricted almost to the extent of total exclusion of immigrants should the bill become a law, and every effort should therefore be made to insure the defeat of the bill.

You are directly interested in the defeat of the bill as much as we are, and we would respectfully ask you to wire your representative in Congress

immediately upon receipt of this to vote against the bill, informing him that the measure virtually means exclusion, and that his vote in favor of same will mean repudiation by his constituents and his defeat at the next election.

Trusting that you will not fail to give the matter your prompt attention,
we are

Yours respectfully,

H. CLAUSSENIUS & CO.

With this letter was sent the following slip:

Wire your representative fully and let us know cost of telegram and we will promptly refund amount to you.

Mr. Claussenius subsequently said in a formal statement: "Our principal objection to the bill is that it would deprive the West of agricultural immigrants which the country is sadly in need of, whether they are illiterate or not."

What this Action means.

In other words the agents of a foreign corporation, one of the most powerful in the world, and receiving a subsidy from the German Empire, undertook to have congressmen threatened with defeat if they voted for a measure which they believed would protect the institutions and the citizenship of the country and the social and industrial welfare of their constituents. Mr. Lodge said without contradiction, in the Senate on Feb. 2, 1897, in speaking of these letters and telegrams:

"To every newspaper in which they have an advertisement they sent another telegram, and the hand of that company has been felt in this business ever since it looked as if the bill would get upon the statute book. You can see it to-day in the newspapers. Here is the report that the President has given it out that he means to veto the bill. Mr. President, no President of the United States would think of giving authority to anybody to say, or of saying himself, that he intended either to veto or to sign a bill before he had considered it, and before it had been sent to him in a perfected state for his consideration. That paragraph comes from the same source as those telegrams."

Western Settlers not excluded by the Educational Test.

"The principal objection" which is thus urged by the steamship company against the educational test bill, viz., that it will deprive the West of agricultural immigrants, is based either upon total ignorance or deliberate misrepresentation of the result of such a measure. Immigrants from Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden and Norway, Germany,

France, Great Britain, Ireland, and Finland have an average illiteracy of only $4\frac{1}{2}$ in 100, the number of illiterates from Germany being 1.8 in 100, and from Scandinavia 1 in 100. In other words, 96 per cent. and upwards of immigration from these countries would come in under the proposed bill. These are the sturdy and valuable citizens who have settled and built up the western States, and who are developing the agricultural regions of the Northwest. *They will not be excluded by the educational test.*

If further proof be needed it is found in the fact that the State Immigration Associations of Minnesota, South Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Washington, and other States, organizations formed for the purpose of *promoting* immigration into those States, are all in favor of the illiteracy test for immigrants. In 1895 the governors of these States were asked by a special commission of the Treasury Department what immigrants they desired. There was only one call for immigrants from southern or eastern Europe, viz., for Italian farmers with money, intending permanent settlement.

Only the Undesirable excluded.

The immigrants who would be excluded by the educational test bill are those from Greece, Russia, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Portugal, who have an average illiteracy of 47.9 in 100. This latter class furnished almost no immigration in the year 1869, less than one-tenth of the total immigration in 1880, while to-day they furnish more than one-half. It is, therefore, the exclusion of these very illiterate immigrants, to-day constituting more than one-half of the total immigration, to which the steamship companies object. Assuming twenty dollars as a low average steerage rate from the ports of Europe to this country (at present it is thirty-five dollars), it is obvious that the foreign steamship companies have a considerable interest in fighting this bill.

These do not go West and are not wanted There.

Of the Russians, Poles, and Italians three-fifths live in the large cities of the East, while the census of 1890 shows that of the Poles, Hungarians, and Russians there are in the southern States or western division altogether less than thirty thousand in a population of twenty-three million.

The reports of the Department of Labor show that the immigration from southeastern Europe, which has increased so much in recent years, does not go West, but contributes largely to the slums of

the large cities on the Atlantic seaboard, and contributes the largest proportion to the criminal and dependent classes therein.

In other words, the claim that the educational test bill "will deprive the West of agricultural immigration . . . whether illiterate or not" is false. It is obviously urged to excite opposition to the immigration bill in those sections which do not feel the burden upon the penal and charitable institutions of the East, caused by the recent inferior immigration out of which the foreign steamship companies make their profit at the cost of imposing a tremendous burden upon the American people.

Germans and Scandinavians not affected by the Pending Bill.

Certain persons have recently attempted to stir up the German press and the German societies against the educational test bill. A circular issued by one of those societies speaks also of the need of immigrants in the West, which we have shown would not be affected by the educational test bill, and asks: "how many founders of this republic would have been able to read, copy, or explain five lines of our Constitution?" The existing bill does not propose to ask anybody to explain the Constitution of the United States, and the statement is to that extent a misrepresentation.

We have confidence that those of German birth in this country who are among the best citizens that we have, and among whom illiteracy is practically unknown, will not be deceived by an argument which ignores the spread of education in this country and in northwestern Europe since the founding of this republic; such an argument is too absurd to require further comment. As has been stated above, the educational test bill will affect hardly at all immigration from the German Empire. Therefore men of the German race have no reason to object to the educational test on account of its effect upon their countrymen.

Opposition really based on Private Gain.

The only persons who have any intelligible reason for objecting to the pending legislation are the foreign steamship companies, and they object not upon any rational grounds, but in order that they may make a few more dollars by bringing over here *not Germans or Scandinavians, or immigrants bound for the West*, but Russians, Poles, Hungarians, Italians, Galicians, Croats, Syrians, and Asiatics, for these are the people who would be affected by the bill.

FORCIBLE DEMAND OF THE PRESS

FOR THE

FURTHER RESTRICTION OF IMMIGRATION

BY THE ILLITERACY TEST.

THE following is a list of such papers coming to our notice as have within the past three years favored the restriction of immigration by means of an illiteracy test. There are doubtless hundreds of others which we have not seen whose services in calling attention to the need of further restriction of immigration are entitled to equal recognition.

To show that this demand for further restriction along the lines of the educational test is well-nigh unanimous it needs only to be stated that the list given below constitutes over 90 per cent. of all the papers we have seen having editorials upon the immigration question. A number of the papers opposed to the educational test are in favor of more radical measures for the restriction of immigration.

New York (N. Y.), *Times*.
New York (N. Y.), *Evening Post*.
New York (N. Y.), *Tribune*.
New York (N. Y.), *Herald*.
New York (N. Y.), *Mail and Express*.
New Orleans (La.), *Times-Democrat*.
New Orleans (La.), *Picayune*.
Atlanta (Ga.), *Constitution*.
Macon (Ga.), *Telegraph*.
Chicago (Ill.), *Chronicle*.

Chicago (Ill.), *Inter-Ocean*.
Chicago (Ill.), *Israelite*.
Chicago (Ill.), *Germania*.
Chicago (Ill.), *Skandinaven*.
Jacksonville (Fla.), *Times-Union*.
Philadelphia (Pa.), *Public Ledger*.
Washington (D. C.), *Post*.
Boston (Mass.), *Herald*.
Boston (Mass.), *Commercial Bulletin*.
Boston (Mass.), *Journal*.

Boston (Mass.), *Transcript*.
 Springfield (Mass.), *Republican*.
 Natchez (Miss.), *Democrat*.
 Indianapolis (Ind.), *Sentinel*.
 Indianapolis (Ind.), *Journal*.
 Richmond (Va.), *State*.
 Detroit (Mich.), *News*.
 Victor (Colo.), *Record*.
 Detroit (Mich.), *Telegram*.
 Duluth (Minn.), *Herald*.
 St. Joseph (Mo.), *Herald*.
 Helena (Mont.), *Herald*.
 Elizabeth (N. J.), *Journal*.
 New York (N. Y.), *Journal*.
 Cincinnati (O.), *Commercial Tribune*.
 Bellingham (Ala.), *News*.
 Tucson (Ariz.), *Star*.
 Fresno (Cal.), *Expositor*.
 Colorado Springs (Colo.), *Gazette*.
 Bridgeport (Conn.), *Union*.
 Augusta (Ga.), *Chronicle*.
 Council Bluffs (Ia.), *Nonpareil*.
 Waterville (Kan.), *Telegraph*.
 Louisville (Ky.), *Times*.
 Bangor (Me.), *Journal*.
 Cleveland (O.), *Leader*.
 Portland (Ore.), *Sun*.
 Lancaster (Pa.), *Examiner*.
 Pawtucket (R. I.), *Post*.
 Charlestown (S. D.), *News*.
 Sioux Falls (S. D.), *Press*.
 Chattanooga (Tenn.), *Times*.
 Dallas (Tex.), *Texas Farmer*.
 Salt Lake City (Utah), *News*.
 Tacoma (Wash.), *News*.
 Wheeling (W. Va.), *Intelligencer*.
 Madison (Wis.), *Democrat*.
 Cheyenne (Wyom.), *Sun-Leader*.
 Minneapolis (Miss.), *Journal*.
 Butte City (Mont.), *Miner*.
 St. Paul (Minn.), *Northwestern Farmer*.
 Helena (Mont.), *Independent*.
 Buffalo (N. Y.), *Courier*.
 Worcester (Mass.), *Spy*.
 Albany (N. Y.), *Telegram*.
 Omaha (Neb.), *America*.
 Nashua (N. H.), *Telegraph*.
 Bay City (Mich.), *Times-Press*.
 St. Paul (Minn.), *Pioneer Press*.
 Kansas City (Mo.), *Journal*.
 Lincoln (Neb.), *Call*.
 Concord (N. H.), *Monitor*.
 New York (N. Y.), *Mercury*.

Grand Rapids (Mich.), *Herald*.
 Milwaukee (Wis.), *Journal*.
 Cedar Rapids (Iowa), *Republican*.
 Buffalo (N. Y.), *Commercial*.
 Wilkesbarre (Pa.), *Leader*.
 Toledo (O.), *Blade*.
 Trenton (N. J.), *Times*.
 Newark (N. J.), *Advertiser*.
 Pittsburg (Pa.), *Post*.
 La Croix (Wis.), *Chronicle*.
 Wheeling (W. Va.), *Register*.
 Omaha (Neb.), *World and Herald*.
 Philadelphia (Pa.), *Times*.
 Springfield (O.), *Springfield Farm News*.
 Erie (Pa.), *Dispatch*.
 Chattanooga (Tenn.), *News*.
 New York (N. Y.), *Press*.
 Seattle (Wash.), *Post Intelligencer*.
 Houston (Tex.), *Post*.
 Knoxville (Tenn.), *Tribune*.
 Tacoma (Wash.), *Ledger*.
 Syracuse (N. Y.), *Journal*.
 Syracuse (N. Y.), *Scientific Farmer*.
 Troy (N. Y.), *Press*.
 Harrisburg (Pa.), *Call*.
 Newport (R. I.), *News*.
 Ticonderoga (N. Y.), *Sentinel*.
 Cincinnati (O.), *Tribune*.
 Philadelphia (Pa.), *Call*.
 Norrisburg (Pa.), *Herald*.
 Detroit (Mich.), *Free Press*.
 Wilmington (N. C.), *Messenger*.
 Philadelphia (Pa.), *Item*.
 Brooklyn (N. Y.), *Citizen*.
 Manchester (N. H.), *Mirror*.
 Kansas City (Mo.), *Star*.
 Minneapolis (Minn.), *Times*.
 Wilkesbarre (Pa.), *Newsdealer*.
 Detroit (Mich.), *Journal*.
 St. Louis (Mo.), *Globe-Democrat*.
 Marquette (Mich.), *Mining Journal*.
 St. Louis (Mo.), *Republic*.
 Saginaw (Mich.), *Career Herald*.
 Lebanon (Pa.), *Courier*.
 Fargo (N. D.), *Journal*.
 Birmingham (Ariz.), *News*.
 Sacramento (Cal.), *Record Union*.
 Leadville (Colo.), *Chronicle*.
 Hartford (Conn.), *Post*.
 Topeka (Kan.), *Journal*.
 San Francisco (Cal.), *Examiner*.
 Paducah (Ky.), *News*.
 Chicago (Ill.), *Evening Post*.

Louisville (Ky.), *Commercial*.
 Oakland (Cal.), *Inquirer*.
 Sioux City (Ia.), *Tribune*.
 Terre Haute (Ind.), *Gazette*.
 Meriden (Conn.), *Journal*.
 Los Angeles (Cal.), *Times*.
 New Haven (Conn.), *Register*.
 Chicago (Ill.), *Western Rural*.
 Boston (Mass.), *Banker & Tradesman*.
 Portland (Me.), *Press*.
 San Francisco (Cal.), *Chronicle*.
 Chicago (Ill.), *Herald*.
 Madison (Ind.), *Herald*.
 Burlington (Ia.), *Hawk Eye*.
 Portland (Me.), *Transcript*.
 Lewiston (Me.), *Journal*.
 San Francisco (Cal.), *Call*.
 Macon (Ga.), *Telegraph*.
 Denver (Colo.), *Republican*.
 San Jose (Cal.), *Mercury*.
 Leavenworth (Kan.), *Times*.
 Dubuque (Ia.), *Globe-Journal*.
 Chicago (Ill.), *Times-Herald*.
 Savannah (Ga.), *Press*.
 Columbus (O.), *State Journal*.
 Portland (Ore.), *Oregonian*.
 Milwaukee (Wis.), *Sentinel*.
 Columbia (S. C.), *State*.
 St. Albans (Vt.), *Messenger*.
 Philadelphia (Pa.), *Public Ledger*.
 Pittsburg (Pa.), *Press*.
 Providence (R. I.), *News*.
 Nashville (Tex.), *Banner*.
 Burlington (Vt.), *Free Press*.
 Racine (Wis.), *Journal*.
 Portsmouth (Va.), *Star*.
 Fort Worth (Tex.), *Gazette*.
 Nashville (Tenn.), *American*.
 Philadelphia (Pa.), *Press*.
 Salem (Ore.), *Independent*.
 Toledo (O.), *Commercial*.
 Huntsville (Ala.), *Mercury*.
 Adams (Mass.), *Freeman*.
 Delta (Cal.), *Versalia*.
 Augusta (Me.), *Journal*.
 Amesbury (Mass.), *News*.
 Ansonia (Conn.), *Sentinel*.
 Attleboro' (Mass.), *Sun*.
 Bridgeport (Conn.), *News*.
 Beverly (Mass.), *Citizen*.
 Eureka (Cal.), *Standard*.
 Boston (Mass.), *Commonwealth*.
 Fresno (Cal.), *Republican*.

Chicago (Ill.), *Despatch*.
 Bridgeport (Conn.), *Standard*.
 Bridgeport (Conn.), *Telegram*.
 Boston (Mass.), *Advertiser*.
 Greenwich (Conn.), *News*.
 Napa (Cal.), *Journal*.
 Hartford (Conn.), *Bulletin*.
 Chicago (Ill.), *Dispatch*.
 Boston (Mass.), *Citizen*.
 Indianapolis (Ind.), *News*.
 Adrian (Mich.), *Times*.
 Chicago (Ill.), *Journal*.
 New York (N. Y.), *Observer*.
 Akron (O.), *Beacon & Rep.*
 Allentown (Pa.), *Chronicle*.
 Allentown (Pa.), *Register*.
 Arctic (R. I.), *Times*.
 Altoona (Pa.), *Gazette*.
 Altoona (Pa.), *News*.
 New York (N. Y.), *Recorder*.
 New York (N. Y.), *Voice*.
 Canton (O.), *Repository*.
 Cincinnati (O.), *Times Star*.
 Astoria (Ore.), *Astorian*.
 Norwich (N. Y.), *Telegraph*.
 Cleveland (O.), *News*.
 Los Angeles (Cal.), *Herald*.
 Los Angeles (Cal.), *Express*.
 Lowell (Mass.), *Citizen*.
 Lowell (Mass.), *Courier*.
 Lowell (Mass.), *Mail*.
 Alpena (Mich.), *Argus*.
 Coldwater (Mich.), *Courier*.
 Lowell (Mass.), *News*.
 Lowell (Mass.), *Times*.
 Flint (Mich.), *Globe*.
 Flint (Mich.), *Journal*.
 Riverside (Cal.), *Press*.
 Sacramento (Cal.), *Bee*.
 Sacramento (Cal.), *Union*.
 Colorado Springs (Colo.), *Telegraph*.
 Oneonta (N. Y.), *Herald*.
 Oswego (N. Y.), *Times*.
 Passaic (N. J.), *News*.
 Hartford (Conn.), *Times*.
 Meriden (Conn.), *Republican*.
 Boston (Mass.), *Commercial*.
 Boston (Mass.), *Courier*.
 Boston (Mass.), *Home Journal*.
 Mount Sterling (Ky.), *Democrat*.
 Bangor (Me.), *News*.
 Biddeford (Me.), *Journal*.
 Penn Yan (N. Y.), *Democrat*.

Poughkeepsie (N. Y.), *Eagle*.
 Boston (Mass.), *Record*.
 Boston (Mass.), *Standard*.
 Boston (Mass.), *Star*.
 Boston (Mass.), *Times*.
 Boston (Mass.), *Traveler*.
 Rochester (N. Y.), *Democrat*.
 Rochester (N. Y.), *Democrat and Chronicle*.
 Columbus (O.), *Dispatch*.
 Columbus (O.), *Post*.
 Columbus (O.), *Press*.
 Bridgton (Me.), *News*.
 Lake Charles (La.), *Commercial*.
 Braintree (Mass.), *Enterprise*.
 Dayton (O.), *News*.
 Dayton (O.), *Press*.
 Great Falls (Mo.), *Leader*.
 Sante Fé (New Mexico), *New Mexican*.
 Lynn (Mass.), *Item*.
 Lynn (Mass.), *Transcript*.
 Lynn (Mass.), *Times*.
 Rome (N. Y.), *Sentinel*.
 Saratoga Springs (N. Y.), *Saratogian*.
 Schenectady (N. Y.), *Star*.
 Schenectady (N. Y.), *Union*.
 Brockton (Mass.), *Enterprise*.
 Brockton (Mass.), *Times*.
 Brookline (Mass.), *Chronicle*.
 Meridian (La.), *News*.
 New Orleans (La.), *States*.
 New Orleans (La.), *Item*.
 Cambridge (Mass.), *Chronicle*.
 Cambridge (Mass.), *Tribune*.
 Chelsea (Mass.), *Pioneer*.
 Chelsea (Mass.), *Record*.
 Delaware (O.), *Gazette*.
 Hamilton (O.), *Telegraph*.
 Lima (O.), *Gazette*.
 Chicopee (Mass.), *Herald*.
 Dedham (Mass.), *Transcript*.
 Shreveport (La.), *Caucasian*.
 Farmington (Me.), *Chronicle*.
 Malden (Mass.), *Mirror*.
 Mansfield (Mass.), *News*.
 Methuen (Mass.), *Transcript*.
 Clarion (Pa.), *Democrat*.
 Chester (Pa.), *Republican*.
 Clearfield (Pa.), *Spirit*.
 Eustis (Fla.), *Region*.
 Milford (Conn.), *Citizen*.
 Philadelphia (Pa.), *American*.
 Philadelphia (Pa.), *Bulletin*.
 Philadelphia (Pa.), *Inquirer*.
 Philadelphia (Pa.), *Herald*.
 Newport (R. I.), *Herald*.
 Deadwood (S. D.), *Pioneer*.
 Ashland (Wis.), *Press*.
 Darlington (Wis.), *Journal*.
 Albany (N. Y.), *Press and Knickerbocker*.
 Albany (N. Y.), *Times-Union*.
 Albuquerque (N. Y.), *Citizen*.
 Green Bay (Wis.), *Gazette*.
 Janesville (Wis.), *Recorder*.
 Auburn (N. Y.), *Bulletin*.
 Batavia (N. Y.), *News*.
 Saratoga (Wyom.), *Lyre*.
 Burlington (Vt.), *News*.
 Binghamton (N. Y.), *Leader*.
 Broadalbin (N. Y.), *Herald*.
 Great Falls (Mont.), *Leader*.
 Sulphur Springs (Mont.), *News*.
 Milford (Mass.), *Gazette*.
 Milford (Mass.), *Journal*.
 Milford (Mass.), *News*.
 Columbia (Pa.), *News*.
 Conchohacken (Pa.), *Recorder*.
 Coudersport (Pa.), *Journal*.
 East Boston (Mass.), *Argus-Advocate*.
 East Walpole (Mass.), *Democrat*.
 Everett (Mass.), *Herald*.
 Everett (Mass.), *Republican*.
 Baltimore (Md.), *American*.
 Fall River (Mass.), *News*.
 Logan (O.), *Gazette*.
 Mansfield (O.), *News*.
 New Philadelphia (O.), *Advocate*.
 San Antonio (Cal.), *Express*.
 New Bedford (Mass.), *Standard*.
 Newburyport (Mass.), *Herald*.
 Newburyport (Mass.), *News*.
 Aurora (Ill.), *News*.
 Rome (Ga.), *Tribune*.
 Chicago (Ill.), *Midland*.
 Chicago (Ill.), *News*.
 Chicago (Ill.), *New World*.
 Chicago (Ill.), *Observer*.
 Chicago (Ill.), *Post*.
 Chicago (Ill.), *Record*.
 Chicago (Ill.), *Times*.
 Chicago (Ill.), *Tribune*.
 Anderson (Ind.), *Democrat*.
 Anderson (Ind.), *News*.
 Manhattan (Kan.), *Mercury*.
 Des Moines (Ia.), *Capital*.
 Crawfordsville (Ind.), *Journal*.

Galesburg (Ill.), *Mail*.
 Hopkinsville (Ky.), *New Era*.
 Newton (Kan.), *Republican*.
 Des Moines (Ia.), *Leader*.
 Evansville (Ind.), *Courier*.
 Galesburg (Ill.), *Rep. Register*.
 Lafayette (Ind.), *Journal*.
 Grayson (Ky.), *Bugle*.
 Galena (Ill.), *Gazette*.
 Parsons (Kan.), *Sun*.
 Keokuk (Ia.), *Gate City*.
 Logansport (Ind.), *Journal*.
 Topeka (Kan.), *Journal*.
 Muscatine (Ia.), *Journal*.
 Hardin (Ill.), *Leader*.
 Joliet (Ill.), *Republican*.
 Muscatine (Ia.), *Tribune*.
 Wichita (Kan.), *Eagle*.
 Madison (Ind.), *Courier*.
 Kewanee (Ill.), *Star*.
 La Salle (Ill.), *Tribune*.
 Mound City (Ill.), *Enterprise*.
 New Albany (Ind.), *Ledger*.
 Winfield (Kan.), *Courier*.
 Paris (Ill.), *Beacon*.
 Peoria (Ill.), *Journal*.
 Peoria (Ill.), *Transcript*.
 Kansas City (Mo.), *Star*.
 Concord (N. H.), *Patriot*.
 Richmond (Ind.), *Item*.
 Rising Sun (Ind.), *Recorder*.
 South Bend (Ind.), *Tribune*.
 Sufferin (N. Y.), *Recorder*.
 Syracuse (N. Y.), *Herald*.
 North Adams (Mass.), *Herald*.
 North Attleboro (Mass.), *Chronicle*.
 Fremont (Mich.), *News*.
 Kalamazoo (Mich.), *Gazette*.
 Kalamazoo (Mich.), *Telegraph*.
 Norwood (Mass.), *Advertiser*.
 Pittsfield (Mass.), *Eagle*.
 Bellingham (Minn.), *Times*.
 Salem (Mass.), *Gazette*.
 Salem (Mass.), *Observer*.
 Syracuse (N. Y.), *Post*.
 Piqua (O.), *Leader*.
 Spencer (Mass.), *Leader*.
 Terre Haute (Ind.), *Express*.
 Rockford (Ill.), *Republican*.
 Ottumwa (Ia.), *Democrat*.
 Ravenna (O.), *Republican*.
 Sioux City (Ia.), *Journal*.
 Sheator (Ill.), *Free Press*.

Fitchburg (Mass.), *Mail*.
 Fitchburg (Mass.), *Sentinel*.
 Sandusky (O.), *Register*.
 Troy (N. Y.), *Record*.
 Troy (N. Y.), *Times*.
 Troy (N. Y.), *Daily News*.
 North Anson (Me.), *Union Advocate*.
 Greenfield (Mass.), *Gazette*.
 Springfield (O.), *Republican Times*.
 Utica (N. Y.), *Herald*.
 Warren (O.), *Chronicle*.
 Warren (O.), *Tribune*.
 Utica (N. Y.), *Observer*.
 Oregon City (Ore.), *Courier*.
 Zanesville (O.), *Courier*.
 Haverhill (Mass.), *Gazette*.
 Watertown (N. Y.), *Post*.
 Youngston (O.), *Vindicator*.
 Yonkers (N. Y.), *Herald*.
 Washington (O.), *Register*.
 Baltimore (Md.), *Herald*.
 Baltimore (Md.), *News*.
 Rockland (Me.), *Star*.
 Cumberland (Md.), *Times*.
 Hyannis (Mass.), *Patriot*.
 Doylestown (Pa.), *Democrat*.
 Hyde Park (Mass.), *Gazette*.
 Parker City (Ore.), *Democrat*.
 Huntington (Mass.), *Herald*.
 Salem (Ore.), *Statesman*.
 Doylestown (Pa.), *Republican*.
 Lawrence (Mass.), *American*.
 Erie (Pa.), *News*.
 Lawrence (Mass.), *Telegram*.
 San Diego (Cal.), *Union*.
 Harrisburg (Pa.), *Patriot*.
 Phoenix (Ariz.), *Report*.
 San Francisco (Cal.), *Argonaut*.
 San Francisco (Cal.), *Bulletin*.
 San Francisco (Cal.), *News and Letter*.
 San Francisco (Cal.), *Post*.
 San Francisco (Cal.), *Reporter*.
 San Francisco (Cal.), *Times*.
 Spencer (Mass.), *Sun*.
 Lansing (Mich.), *Republican*.
 New Britain (Conn.), *Record*.
 Springfield (Mass.), *Morning Union*.
 Springfield (Mass.), *N. E. Homestead*.
 Springfield (Mass.), *News*.
 Springfield (Mass.), *Republican*.
 Springfield (Mass.), *Tribune*.
 Lapeer (Mich.), *Clarion*.
 Aberdeen (Miss.), *Weekly*.

Taunton (Mass.), *Gazette*.
 West Gardner (Mass.), *Journal*.
 Weymouth (Mass.), *Gazette*.
 Winchendon (Mass.), *Courier*.
 Mankato (Minn.), *Press*.
 Hyde Park (Miss.), *Times*.
 Portland (Mich.), *Observer*.
 Winchester (Mass.), *Star*.
 Sault St. Marie (Mich.), *News*.
 Minneapolis (Minn.), *Progress*.
 Worcester (Mass.), *Gazette*.
 Worcester (Mass.), *Post*.
 Worcester (Mass.), *Spy*.
 Worcester (Mass.), *Telegram*.
 Minneapolis (Minn.), *Progress*.
 Brooklyn (N. Y.), *Eagle*.
 Jersey City (N. J.), *Journal*.
 Rothsay (Minn.), *Record*.
 Philadelphia (Pa.), *Mail and Express*.
 Philadelphia (Pa.), *News*.
 Philadelphia (Pa.), *North American*.
 Philadelphia (Pa.), *Record*.
 Philadelphia (Pa.), *Star*.
 Philadelphia (Pa.), *Telegraph*.
 Buffalo (N. Y.), *News*.
 Buffalo (N. Y.), *Tidings*.
 Harrisburg (Pa.), *Telegraph*.
 Kansas City (Mo.), *World*.
 Concord (N. H.), *People and Patriot*.
 Hallidaysburg (Pa.), *Register*.
 Farmerville (Fla.), *Gazette*.
 San Jose (Cal.), *Herald*.
 Chatham (N. Y.), *Courier*.
 St. Louis (Mo.), *Chronicle*.
 St. Louis (Mo.), *Post Despatch*.
 St. Louis (Mo.), *Star*.
 Lincoln (Neb.), *News*.
 Chatham (N. Y.), *Republican*.
 Kittanning (Pa.), *Tribune*.
 Lebanon (Pa.), *News*.
 Lebanon (Pa.), *Report*.
 Chittenango (N. Y.), *Times*.
 Elmira (N. Y.), *Advertiser*.
 Elmira (N. Y.), *News*.
 Elmira (N. Y.), *Star*.
 St. Joseph (Mo.), *Gazette*.
 St. Joseph (Mo.), *News*.
 Nebraska City (Neb.), *Nebraska City Press*.
 Laconia (N. H.), *Press*.
 Newark (N. J.), *News*.
 Pittsburg (Pa.), *Com. Gazette*.
 Pittsburg (Pa.), *Times*.
 Far Rockaway (N. Y.), *Journal*.
 Springfield (Mo.), *Democrat*.
 Plattsmouth (Neb.), *News-Herald*.
 Superior (Neb.), *Journal*.
 Glen's Falls (N. Y.), *Star*.
 Glen's Falls (N. Y.), *Times*.
 Nashua (N. H.), *Press*.
 Gloversville (N. Y.), *Leader*.
 Holley (N. Y.), *Standard*.
 Macungie (Pa.), *Progress*.
 Meadville (Pa.), *Journal*.
 Mifflintown (Pa.), *Tribune*.
 Hornelsville (N. Y.), *Times*.
 Passaic (N. J.), *News*.
 Mount Pleasant (Pa.), *Journal*.
 New Bloomfield (Pa.), *Times*.
 Norristown (Pa.), *Times*.
 Rochester (N. H.), *Record*.
 Pillston (Pa.), *Gazette*.
 Potsville (Pa.), *Chronicle*.
 Pottsville (Pa.), *Standard*.
 Trenton (N. J.), *Gazette*.
 Jamestown (N. Y.), *All*.
 Little Falls (N. Y.), *Times*.
 Lockport (N. Y.), *Journal*.
 Reading (Pa.), *Review*.
 New York (N. Y.), *Christian Advocate*.
 New York (N. Y.), *Christian Work*.
 New York (N. Y.), *Commercial Advertiser*.
 New York (N. Y.), *Morning Advertiser*.
 New York (N. Y.), *News*.
 New York (N. Y.), *Advertiser*.
 Scranton (Pa.), *Republican*.
 Gainesville (Fla.), *Sun*.
 New Haven (Conn.), *News*.
 Scranton (Pa.), *Times*.
 New Haven (Conn.), *Union*.
 Dubuque (Colo.), *Wild West*.
 New London (Conn.), *Telegraph*.
 Scranton (Pa.), *Tribune*.
 Santa Cruz (Cal.), *Sentinel*.
 Shenandoah (Pa.), *Herald*.
 Denver (Colo.), *Patriot*.
 Sunbury (Pa.), *American*.
 Denver (Colo.), *Times*.
 Titusville (Pa.), *Herald*.
 Derango (Colo.), *Democrat*.
 Milwaukee (Wis.), *Wisconsin*.
 Norwalk (Conn.), *Gazette*.
 Warren (Pa.), *Ledger*.
 Norwich (Conn.), *Bulletin*.
 Dallas (Tex.), *Farmer*.

Jasper (N. Y.), *Monitor*.
 Canandaigua (N. Y.), *Journal*.
 Bath (N. Y.), *Courier*.
 Thornton (Va.), *Enterprise*.
 Pt. Byron (N. Y.), *Chronicle*.
 Belfast (Maine), *Journal*.
 Des Moines (Iowa), *Register*.
 Cooperstown (N. Y.), *Republican*.
 Jacksonville (Ill.), *Journal*.
 Warren (Pa.), *Mirror*.
 Pawtucket (R. I.), *Times*.
 Leadville (Colo.), *Herald*.
 Phoenix (R. I.), *Gleaner*.
 Willimantic (Conn.), *Chronicle*.
 Providence (R. I.), *Telegram*.
 Williamsport (Pa.), *Grit*.
 Woonsocket (R. I.), *Reporter*.
 Wilmington (Del.), *News*.
 Chattanooga (Tenn.), *Press*.
 Washington (D. C.), *Kate Field's Wash-
 ington*.
 Jackson (Tenn.), *Whig*.
 Wilkesbarre (Pa.), *Record*.

York (Pa.), *Despatch*.
 Jacksonville (Fla.), *Citizen*.
 Knoxville (Tenn.), *Journal*.
 Orlando (Fla.), *Reporter*.
 Denton (Texas), *Chronicle*.
 Monroe (Wis.), *Sentinel*.
 St. Augustine (Fla.), *News*.
 El Paso (Tex.), *Tribune*.
 San Mateo City (Fla.), *Item*.
 Sheboygan (Wis.), *Telegram*.
 Renham (Texas), *Banner*.
 Tavares (Fla.), *Herald*.
 Atlanta (Fla.), *Journal*.
 San Antonio (Tex.), *Express*.
 Waupaca (Wis.), *Post*.
 Waco (Tex.), *Times*.
 Superior (Wis.), *Leader*.
 Ogden (Tex.), *Standard*.
 Superior (Wis.), *Citizen*.
 Vergennes (Vt.), *Vermont*.
 Norfolk (Va.), *Landmark*.
 Superior (Wis.), *Telegram*.
 Olympia (Wash.), *Olympian Tribune*.

THE SURPRISING CIRCULAR OF THE Immigration Protective League.

PURPOSE AND OPERATION OF THE LODGE BILL GREATLY MISREPRESENTED.

Opposition to the Lodge Bill based on a Misunderstanding.

Congress and the newspapers have recently been flooded with protests against the Lodge Bill, coming from German societies. That these protests have not been spontaneous, but have been worked up by some outside influence, must be evident to all, from the fact that although the Lodge Bill has been before the country for nearly two years, very few protests have come to Congress before this time, and the almost unanimous voice of the press has been in its favor.

Among some of the methods employed by those who are trying to defeat the bill are the following:

Dr. J. H. Senner, now Secretary of the Immigration Protective League, recently sent out a circular letter in German to various societies and individuals, containing language of which the following is an accurate translation:

"... The nativistic authors of such entirely superfluous new laws pretend that their only object is to protect the American laboring man against foreign competition. This is, however, only a poor excuse for their real scheme, dictated by that hatred of the foreigner, whom they would like to exclude altogether."

"If, in particular, the now comparatively feeble stream of German immigration is completely cut off, then they will succeed in oppressing Germans in this country, and ruin the German element politically and industrially. To the great satisfaction and delight of the English-American press, many a German newspaper, whose competition is a thorn in their flesh, will be forced to the wall. No German church building will then be erected any more, or conserved; no German school could exist, and the German language will disappear from the public schools."

The absurdity of such an appeal to race prejudice has rarely been equalled. The proposed law cannot "cut off" German immigration, for only 1.8 per cent. of German immigrants are illiterate. The hundreds of thousands of Germans in this country are among the best foreign-born citizens we have, and no one would wish to "ruin them industrially," even if it were possible, which it is not.

The "Courier," of Evansville, Indiana, on January 19, in speaking of the protests against the Lodge Bill from the various branches of the German Catholic Central Society of the United States, said:

"Nearly seven hundred German Catholics of Evansville remonstrated against the passage of the Immigration Bill. But they did so under a misapprehension. One of the men most prominent in the remonstrance said, Tuesday, that had he known the educational qualification did not require the ability to read and write English he would not have signed the remonstrance. Neither would a single society in Evansville have taken the action they all did."

The Chicago "Tribune" of January 21 prints an interview with Senator Fairbanks in which he said:

"I received and am still receiving protests from various societies in Indiana. One of them was from a German organization in Jeffersonville. I took the trouble to investigate this and found it had been directly instigated by a steamship agent, and that the members of the German Aid Society, who ostensibly protested, were led to believe that it was a general restriction of immigration and not merely an attempt to keep out illiterates, which these very men who protested heartily approved of."

A circular has just been sent out by the "Immigration Protective League," an organization recently started in New York, which is so full of incorrect statements as to the purposes and provisions of the Lodge Bill, that the Immigration Restriction League considers that the public should be given a careful and candid analysis of this surprising document.

1. The circular states: "*The so-called Lodge Bill provided that all immigrants over sixteen years of age to be admitted must pass an educational test, and demonstrate their ability to read and write five lines of the Constitution in their own language.*"

ANSWER. This is clearly intended to deceive. The Lodge Bill as it passed both Houses of Congress last year provided for the exclusion of

"All persons physically capable and over sixteen years of age, who cannot read and write the English language or some other language; but a person not so able to read or write who is over fifty years of age, and is the parent or grandparent of a qualified immi-

grant over twenty-one years of age and capable of supporting such parent or grandparent, may accompany such immigrant, or such a parent or grandparent may be sent for and come to join the family of a child or grandchild over twenty-one years of age similarly qualified and capable, and a wife or minor child not so able to read and write may accompany or be sent for, and come to join the husband or parent similarly qualified and capable."

The Lodge Bill as passed by the Senate on January 17 of the present year contains exactly the same provisions, with an amendment changing "read *and* write" to "read *or* write."

Thus the mere reading of the language of the bill proves that this assertion that "*all* immigrants over sixteen years of age" "must pass an educational test" is a clear and bald misstatement. Further, the assertion that they must read "in their own language" is untrue. The bill says "read or write the English language or some other language." German newspapers and German societies should thus notice that the bill does not require reading in English alone.

2. The circular states, "*as a result of this restriction, families would most cruelly be separated in case one or another of the members is not able to pass the examination.*"

ANSWER. This is another absolute misstatement calculated, if not intended, to deceive the public. The most cursory reading of the real provisions of the Lodge Bill will show that it is expressly and carefully intended to prevent this very separation of families, through the exceptions made of wives, parents, grandparents, and minor children.

3. The circular states, "*it would lead to immeasurable and intolerable hardships. It would take days to have ordinary shiploads of immigrants pass any such an educational test.*"

ANSWER. One might suppose from this that the test to be required is a long college or high school examination. In reality it simply consists in having the immigrant read not more than twenty-five words of the Constitution printed on a cardboard slip which is drawn from a number of slips kept concealed in a box.

If any one will go to Ellis Island and try this experiment he will find how extremely simple it is to find out whether an immigrant can read or not. It is not a question of days, nor hours, nor even minutes, but of seconds, and the steady rapid progress of the stream of those who pass the inspector will hardly seem to be appreciably affected.

But a still better answer to the statement that it is impracticable is found in the article written by Dr. J. H. Senner himself, now the Secretary of the Immigration Protective League, in the *Annals of the Ameri-*

can Academy, July, 1897, where he says: "With these limitations [*i.e.*, not applying to persons under sixteen or to females] I believe in the introduction of a limited and practical educational test as a natural and proper addition to the present immigration laws; *and I may add that since Oct. 1, 1896, I have practically introduced this test on Ellis Island without being forced by law.*" And as Dr. J. H. Senner was formerly Commissioner of Immigration at New York, and is so active at present in opposing the Lodge Bill, we quote again from his article: "*I am in favor of a moderate educational test for the protection of American civilization and of the American standard of life. Illiteracy is invariably coupled with a low standard which inevitably tends to a lowering of wages under the present condition of education in continental Europe.*"

In further answer to the charges and misstatements of the Immigration Protective League we would call attention to the following facts regarding an educational test that are often forgotten. In practice it would be applied by the steamship companies and at the place where the ticket is bought by the intended immigrant; therefore it does not imply any great change in existing machinery, or any large increase in consular service and expense.

It saves the hardship to the immigrant of making the voyage in doubt as to his admission or exclusion; and therefore does away in large part with the separation of families, and with a temptation to lax enforcement of inspection in order to prevent such separation. Intending immigrants can tell before starting whether they are eligible or not, and can decide whether to separate or not.

4. The circular states: "*Since 1893 immigration has been rigorously restricted and has practically come to a standstill.*"

ANSWER. The true fact is, that the total number of immigrants in 1890 was 455,302; in 1892 was 579,663; in 1894 was 288,020; in 1895, 258,536; in 1896, 343,267; in 1897, 230,832; in 1895 20 per cent. of those over 15 years old were illiterate; in 1896, 29 per cent.; in 1897, 23 per cent. Is this "coming to a standstill"? At the same time the percentage of immigrants coming from Austria-Hungary, Italy, Poland, and Russia has steadily increased from 34 per cent. in 1890 to 52 per cent. in 1896; while those coming from United Kingdom, France, Germany, and Scandinavia decreased from 57 per cent. to 39 per cent. in the same years.

5. The circular states: "*Demagogic nativist interests too cowardly to openly admit their design of prohibiting immigration entirely, hope to attain their end by making the condition, governing the admission of immigration, so unpleasant for the immigrants, as well as for their friends residing in America, that immigration will, as a result, cease alto-*

gether." "Hardships must not be increased so as to practically exclude all, even the most desirable immigration."

ANSWER. The fact is that the Immigration Restriction League, which drafted the bill as introduced into the Fifty-Fourth Congress (which was the basis of and very similar to the present bill as it passed the Senate), expressly states in every document: "The League is a strictly non-partisan and non-sectarian organization, with members from all parts of the United States. It advocates a stricter regulation of immigration, *but not the exclusion of any immigrants whose character and standards fit them to become citizens.*" So that it has clearly no "design of prohibiting immigration entirely." Nor can the wildest imagination picture how, under any conceivable conditions, the Lodge Bill would "practically exclude all, even the most desirable immigration," so that as a result it would "cease altogether."

An educational test applied to every immigrant in 1897 would have kept out only 23.2 per cent. of all persons over sixteen years of age. It would have kept out less than 1.8 per cent. of the Germans and only 3.6 per cent. of those from the United Kingdom, France, Germany, and Scandinavia, and such a test applied under the provision of the Lodge Bill would keep out still fewer, because of the many exceptions made by that bill in favor of persons not required to take the test.

Indeed, it may very well be that the 1.8 per cent. of illiterates among the Germans in 1896 were all of them persons under sixteen years of age, or over fifty years of age, parents or grandparents of a qualified immigrant, or wives or minor children; and if so, would all be admitted under the present bill.

Immigration Figures for 1898.

(From data furnished by the Commissioner-General of Immigration.)

Comparison of the Fiscal Years ending June 30, 1897 and 1898.

	1897	1898
Total immigration	230,832	229,299
Number debarred from entrance and returned within one year after landing	1,880	3,194
Per cent. debarred and returned	0.8	1.4
Total number of illiterate	44,580	44,473
Per cent. of illiterate in total immigration over 15 years of age	23	23
Per cent. of total immigration coming from Austria-Hungary, Italy, Poland and Russia .	52	57
Per cent. of total immigration coming from the United Kingdom, France, Germany and Scandinavia	38	33
Average money brought by immigrants in dollars,	15	17
Per cent. of immigrants who have been in the United States before	—	18
Per cent. of total immigration having no occupa- tion whatever	39	*
Per cent. of total immigration who were farmers, laborers or servants	40	*
Per cent. of total immigration destined for the four states of Ill., Mass., N. Y. and Pa. . . .	71	*
Per cent. of total immigration destined for States South of the Potomac River, Pa., and the Ohio River, or West of the Mississippi River,	15	*

REMARKS. — The total immigration remains about the same as last year, the beginning of better industrial conditions in this country having been neutralized as far as attracting immigration was concerned by the war with Spain. It is safe to predict a larger volume for the year 1899, unless something unusual occurs to prevent it. There has been a marked increase in the number debarred and returned, probably due to a more rigid inspection.

Immigration from Southeastern Europe has increased 5 per cent. in the total, while that from Northwestern Europe has diminished

* Not yet tabulated.

by the same per cent. Denmark and France now send less than 2,000 immigrants each, while Greece sent 2,339. The largest immigration from any country outside of Europe was from Turkey in Asia (including Arabia and Syria), amounting to 4,275. The increase of immigration from Southeastern Europe and from Asia will probably be more marked in the future.

The average money brought is \$2 more than in 1897, and \$7 more than in 1896.

ILLITERACY.

Number of persons in each hundred immigrants over fifteen years of age who cannot write or cannot read and write their own language, from those nations of Europe which sent upward of 2,000 immigrants to the United States during the past two fiscal years:

	1897.	1898.
Denmark	0.5	—
Sweden	0.9	0.6
Norway	1.1	0.6
Germany	1.8	0.8
England	4.1	2.4
France	4.3	—
Finland	8.2	4.4
Ireland	6.4	4.7
Greece	—	19.9
Russia	27.9	24.1
Austria-Hungary	28.1	25.2
Poland	39.1	32.2
Italy	50.9	52.6
Average, United Kingdom, France, Germany and Scandinavia	3.6	2.4
Average, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Poland and Russia	39.9	35.4
Average from all countries	23.2	23.3

REMARKS. — There has been an improvement in the illiteracy of European immigration as compared with last year, except among Italians, but the average illiteracy for all immigrants is slightly more than last year.

It is to be noted that the improvement amounts to one-third in the case of Northwestern Europe, and only about one-tenth in the case of Southeastern Europe; but this improvement is neutralized by the fact that a larger proportion of all immigrants came from Southeastern Europe, making the average illiteracy greater than last year.

For publications and membership in the Immigration Restriction League, address Prescott F. Hall, Secretary, Fiske Building, Boston. The dues for membership are as follows: For *annual* membership, one dollar, payable in advance upon admission and upon January 1st of each year; for *life* membership, ten dollars, payable upon admission, life members being exempt from annual dues.

The League is a strictly non-partisan and non-sectarian organization, with members from all parts of the United States. It advocates a stricter regulation of immigration, but not the exclusion of any immigrants whose character and standards fit them to become citizens.

Immigration Figures for 1899.

(From data furnished by the Commissioner-General of Immigration.)

Comparison of the Fiscal Years ending June 30, 1898 and 1899.

	1898	1899
Total immigration	229,299	311,715
Percentage of increase 1899 over 1898		36
Number debarred from entrance and returned within one year after landing	3,194	4,061
Per cent. debarred and returned	1.4	1.3
Total number of illiterate	44,473	61,468
Per cent. of illiterate in total immigration over 14 years of age	23	19.7
Per cent. of total immigration coming from Austria-Hungary, Italy, Poland, and Russia	57	64
Total immigration from Eastern Europe. [<i>See note.</i>]		137,855
Per cent. of total immigration coming from Eastern Europe		44.2
Per cent. of total immigration coming from the United Kingdom, France, Germany, and Scandinavia	33	27
Total immigration from Western Europe. [<i>See note.</i>]		130,160
Per cent. of total immigration coming from Western Europe		41.7
Total Hebrew immigration		37,415
Per cent. of total immigration who were Hebrews		12.0
Average money brought by immigrants, in dollars, ...	17	17
Per cent. of immigrants who have been in the United States before	18	16
Per cent. of total immigration having no occupation whatever	39.4	35.1
Per cent. of total immigration who were farmers, laborers, or servants	40.3	47.3
Per cent. of total immigration destined for the four States of Ill., Mass., N. Y., and Pa.	68.9	68.7
Per cent. of total immigration destined for States south of the Potomac River, Pa., and the Ohio River, or west of the Mississippi River, ...	15.2	15.7

NOTE. — In 1899 the Government abandoned tabulation by political divisions and adopted a classification by races. This is in all respects a more precise and useful division, and has long been needed. In order to preserve the valuable comparison of groups of relatively desirable and relatively undesirable immigrants from Europe, the League has divided Europe by a north and south line as follows: Beginning at the boundary between Finland and Russia the line leaves Finland and Germany on the west, then follows the boundary between Bohemia, Austria, and Carinthia on the west, and Galicia, Hungary, and Croatia on the east. It then follows the division between Northern and Southern Italy adopted by the new U. S. classification. Spain and Portugal, having a high illiteracy and sending many undesirable immigrants, are also placed in the eastern division.

The Hebrews are put by themselves in this publication, but the Government report shows that about two-thirds come from Russia and most of the balance from Austria-Hungary.

REMARKS. — The prediction of an increase of immigration in 1899 made in Publication No. 25 has been verified, the increase being over one-third. The largest elements in immigration at present are:

Southern Italian	65,639
Hebrew	37,415
Irish	32,345
Polish	28,466
German	26,632
Scandinavian	23,249

It will be noticed that immigration from Southeastern Europe has continued to increase and now constitutes over three-fifths of the total, while immigration from Northwestern Europe has fallen to nearly one-fourth of the total.

ILLITERACY.

Number of persons in each hundred immigrants over fourteen years of age who cannot write or cannot read and write their own language, from those nations of Europe which sent upward of 2,000 immigrants to the United States during the past two fiscal years:

WESTERN EUROPE.	1898.	1899.
Scandinavian	0.6	0.6
English	2.4	1.7
Finnish	4.4	2.0
German	0.8	3.2
Bohemian & Moravian	—	3.3
French	—	3.5
Irish	4.7	3.9
Italian (North)	—	11.4
Average of above	—	3.6

EASTERN EUROPE.						1898.	1899.
Magyar	.	.	.	.	.	—	10.8
Greek	.	.	.	.	.	19.9	—
Russian	.	.	.	.	.	24.1	—
Austro-Hungarian	.	.	.	.	.	25.2	—
Croatian & Slovenian	.	.	.	.	.	—	26.1
Slovak	.	.	.	.	.	—	27.6
Polish	.	.	.	.	.	32.2	31.3
Lithuanian	.	.	.	.	.	—	32.4
Italian (all)	.	.	.	.	.	52.6	—
Italian (South)	.	.	.	.	.	—	57.2
Portuguese	.	.	.	.	.	—	65.5
Average of above						—	42.4
HEBREW						—	20.3

NOTE. — In comparing the two years it should be remembered that figures for 1898 represent countries, figures for 1899 races.

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Immigration Figures for 1900.

(From data furnished by the Commissioner-General of Immigration.)

Comparison of the Fiscal Years ending June 30, 1899 and 1900.

	1899.	1900.
Total immigration	311,715	448,572
Percentage of increase 1900 over 1899		44
Percentage of increase 1900 over 1898	. . .	96
Number debarred from entrance and returned within one year after landing	4,061	4,602
Per cent. debarred and returned	1.3	1.3
Total number of illiterate	61,468	95,673
Per cent. of illiterate in total immigration over 14 years of age	19.7	24.3
Per cent. of total immigration coming from Aus- tria-Hungary, Italy, Poland, and Russia	64.0	66.7
Total immigration from Eastern Europe. [<i>See note.</i>]	137,855	216,029
Per cent. of total immigration coming from Eastern Europe	44.2	48.3
Per cent. of total immigration coming from the United Kingdom, France, Germany, and Scandinavia	27.0	25.3
Total immigration from Western Europe. [<i>See note.</i>]	130,160	149,442
Per cent. of total immigration coming from Western Europe	41.7	33.3
Total Hebrew immigration	37,415	60,764
Per cent. of total immigration who were Hebrews	12.0	13.5
Average money brought by immigrants, in dollars	17	15
Per cent. of immigrants who have been in the United States before	16.0	11.6
Per cent. of total immigration having no occupa- tion, including women and children	35.1	30.1
Per cent. of total immigration who were farm- laborers, laborers, or servants	47.3	53.0

	1899.	1900.
Per cent. of total immigration destined for the four States of Ill., Mass., N. Y., and Pa. .	68.7	68.8
Per cent. of total immigration destined for States south of the Potomac River, Pa., and the Ohio River, or west of the Mississippi River,	15.7	13.4

NOTE.— *The line between Eastern Europe and Western Europe is as follows: Beginning at the boundary between Finland and Russia the line leaves Finland and Germany on the west, then follows the boundary between Bohemia, Austria, and Carinthia on the west, and Galicia, Hungary, and Croatia on the east. It then follows the division between Northern and Southern Italy adopted by the new U. S. classification. Spain and Portugal, having a high illiteracy and sending many undesirable immigrants, are also placed in the eastern division.*

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REMARKS.— The predictions made in Publications Nos. 25 and 26 of a rapid and important increase in immigration have been strikingly verified, immigration for 1900 being nearly double that of 1898, and it is safe to say that the total volume will remain large until another period of industrial depression sets in. The total immigration this year was larger than in any year since 1892, and has been exceeded only four times in the last fifteen years.

The largest elements in immigration at present are :

	1899.	1900.
Southern Italian	65,639	84,346
Hebrew	37,415	60,764
Polish	28,466	46,938
Irish	32,345	35,607
Scandinavian	23,249	32,952
German	26,632	29,682
Slovak	15,838	29,243

It will be noted that immigration from Western Europe has further fallen off, while that from Eastern Europe has gained. As we might expect from this fact, the percentage of illiteracy has increased by 5; the average money brought has decreased by \$2; the percentage of unskilled labor has increased by 5; and the percentage of immigration destined for the West and South has diminished by 2.3.

ASIATIC IMMIGRATION.

The total immigration from Asia was 8,972 in 1899, and 17,946 in 1900, an increase of 110 per cent.

IMMIGRATION THROUGH CANADA.

1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.
10,646	10,737	13,853	23,200

From contiguous countries (Canada and Mexico), 1,616 persons were refused admission in 1900.

ILLITERACY.

Number of persons in each hundred immigrants over fourteen years of age who cannot write or cannot read and write their own language, from those races (*not nations*), which contributed upwards of 2,000 immigrants to the United States during the past two fiscal years:

WESTERN EUROPE.	1899.	1900.
English	1.7	0.2
Scandinavian	0.6	0.9
Finnish	2.0	2.7
Bohemian and Moravian	3.3	3.0
Irish	3.9	3.3
French	3.5	3.9
German	3.2	5.8
Dutch and Flemish	—	9.6
Italian (North)	11.4	11.2
Average of above	3.6	4.2

EASTERN EUROPE (WITH SPAIN AND PORTUGAL).

Magyar	10.8	16.8
Greek	23.4	17.1
Slovak	27.6	27.9
Polish	31.3	31.2
Lithuanian	32.4	31.7
Croatian and Slovenian	26.1	37.4
Ruthenian	—	49.0
Italian (South)	57.2	54.6
Portuguese	65.5	59.9
Average of above	42.4	39.8

OTHER RACES.

Cuban	—	6.8
Japanese	4.7	8.9
Hebrew	20.3	22.9
Syrian	56.2	55.9

Per cent. of total immigration destined for the four States of Ill., Mass., N. Y., and Pa.	1899. 68.7	1900. 68.8
Per cent. of total immigration destined for States south of the Potomac River, Pa., and the Ohio River, or west of the Mississippi River,	15.7	13.4

NOTE.—The line between Eastern Europe and Western Europe is as follows: Beginning at the boundary between Finland and Russia the line leaves Finland and Germany on the west, then follows the boundary between Bohemia, Austria, and Carinthia on the west, and Galicia, Hungary, and Croatia on the east. It then follows the division between Northern and Southern Italy adopted by the new U. S. classification. Spain and Portugal, having a high illiteracy and sending many undesirable immigrants, are also placed in the eastern division.

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From contiguous countries (Canada and Mexico), 1,616 persons were refused admission in 1900.

ILLITERACY.

Number of persons in each hundred immigrants over fourteen years of age who cannot write or cannot read and write their own language, from those races (*not nations*), which contributed upwards of 2,000 immigrants to the United States during the past two fiscal years:

WESTERN EUROPE.	1899.	1900.
English	1.7	0.2
Scandinavian	0.6	0.9
Finnish	2.0	2.7
Bohemian and Moravian	3.3	3.0
Irish	3.9	3.3
French	3.5	3.9
German	3.2	5.8
Dutch and Flemish	—	9.6
Italian (North)	11.4	11.2
Average of above	3.6	4.2

EASTERN EUROPE (WITH SPAIN AND PORTUGAL).

Magyar	10.8	16.8
Greek	23.4	17.1
Slovak	27.6	27.9
Polish	31.3	31.2
Lithuanian	32.4	31.7
Croatian and Slovenian	26.1	37.4
Ruthenian	—	49.0
Italian (South)	57.2	54.6
Portuguese	65.5	59.9
Average of above	42.4	39.8

OTHER RACES.

Cuban	—	6.8
Japanese	4.7	8.9
Hebrew	20.3	22.9
Syrian	56.2	55.9

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Bibliography of Recent Literature on Immigration.

The present brief bibliography has been specially prepared by the Immigration Restriction League for the use of debating clubs, and for general reading. It includes the titles of a few of the more important articles on the Immigration Problem which have appeared during the last ten years. The plan has been to select publications which set forth the main points in the present discussion of the problem, and which are easily accessible to most readers.

The following general outline of an argument for the further restriction of immigration is presented as a possible aid in the preparation of a debate on this question:

1. Immigrants lower the standard of living: (*a*) by cheap labor; (*b*) by willingness to live in a depraved condition.
2. Immigrants are a menace to our national institutions: (*a*) by foreign speech and customs; (*b*) by grouping in isolated bodies; (*c*) because they do not appreciate our institutions and are not interested in preserving them.
3. Immigration is injurious to the moral condition of the United States: (*a*) our prisons, work-houses, and reformatories are largely filled with those of foreign birth and parentage; (*b*) the quality of our immigration is rapidly deteriorating.
4. Immigration tends to favor the supplanting of the more desirable races by the less desirable, through diminishing largely the birth-rate of the former.
5. Immigration can be restricted by the enactment of laws.

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¹ Report of the Immigration Investigating Commission. 1895.

¹ Immigration Laws and Regulations.

¹ Annual Reports of the Commissioner-General of Immigration.
Eleventh Census of the United States.

² Seventh Special Report of the Commissioner of Labor. 1894.

³ Testimony before U. S. Industrial Commission.

³ Report of U. S. Industrial Commission.

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Various publications of the Immigration Restriction League (sent on application to the Secretary).

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METHODS OF RESTRICTING IMMIGRATION. Hon. Wm. E. Chandler. *Forum*. Vol. 13, 128. (March, 1892.)

OUR NATIONAL DUMPING-GROUND. Charles Stewart Smith. *North American Review*. Vol. 154, 432. (April, 1892.)

¹ These publications can be procured from the Commissioner-General of Immigration, Washington, D.C.

² This report can be procured from the Commissioner of Labor, Washington, D.C.

³ This report can be procured from the Secretary, U. S. Industrial Commission, Washington, D.C.

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Further information as to references, statistics, etc., will be furnished, and the publications of the Immigration Restriction League sent, on application to

PRESCOTT F. HALL, *Secretary*.

Fiske Building, Boston, Mass.

Immigration Figures for 1901.

(From data furnished by the Commissioner-General of Immigration.)

Comparison of the Fiscal Years ending June 30, 1900 and 1901.

	1900.	1901.
Total immigration	448,572	487,918
Percentage of increase 1901 over 1900		9
Percentage of increase 1901 over 1899		113
Number debarred from entrance and returned within one year after landing	4,602	3,879
Per cent. debarred and returned	1.3	0.8
Total number of illiterate	95,673	117,645
Per cent. of illiterate in total immigration over 14 years of age	24.3	27.7
Per cent. of total immigration coming from Aus- tria-Hungary, Italy, and Russia	66.7	68.6
Total immigration from Eastern Europe. [<i>See note.</i>]	216,029	248,203
Per cent. of total immigration coming from Eastern Europe	48.3	50.8
Per cent. of total immigration coming from the United Kingdom, France, Germany, and Scandinavia	25.3	22.5
Total immigration from Western Europe. [<i>See note.</i>]	149,442	164,792
Per cent. of total immigration coming from Western Europe	33.3	33.7
Total immigration from Asia	17,946	13,698
Total Hebrew immigration	60,764	58,098
Per cent. of total immigration who were Hebrews	13.5	11.9
Average money brought by immigrants, in dollars, Per cent. of immigrants who have been in the United States before	15 11.6	15 11.9
Per cent. of total immigration having no occupa- tion, including women and children	30.1	30.5

	1900.	1901.
Per cent. of total immigration who were farm-laborers, laborers, or servants	53.0	53.1
Per cent. of total immigration destined for the four States of Ill., Mass., N.Y., and Pa. . . .	68.8	69.5
Per cent. of total immigration destined for States south of the Potomac River, Pa., and the Ohio River, or west of the Mississippi River,	13.4	13.5

NOTE. — The line between Eastern Europe and Western Europe is as follows: Beginning at the boundary between Finland and Russia the line leaves Finland and Germany on the west, then follows the boundary between Bohemia, Austria, and Carinthia on the west, and Galicia, Hungary, and Croatia on the east. It then follows the division between Northern and Southern Italy adopted by the new U.S. Classification. Spain and Portugal, having a high illiteracy and sending many undesirable immigrants, are also placed in the eastern division.

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The largest elements in immigration at present are:

	1889.	1900.	1901.
Southern Italian	65,639	84,346	115,704
Hebrew	37,415	60,764	58,098
Polish	28,466	46,938	43,617
Scandinavian	23,249	32,952	40,277
Irish	32,345	35,607	30,404
German	26,632	29,682	34,742
Slovak	15,838	29,243	29,343

Immigration from Eastern Europe continues to increase rapidly (furnishing now one-half the total), while the illiteracy of such immigration has also increased. This has necessarily increased the average illiteracy, and emphasizes the value of an educational test. This test is being considered by Australia, in a form similar to that originally proposed by the League. Will it turn out after all that we shall copy Australia in this as in other reforms, although our Congress was the first to pass a bill prescribing such a test? China contributes more than 2,400 immigrants this year, appearing for the first time in the illiteracy table below.

ILLITERACY.

Number of persons in each hundred immigrants over fourteen years of age who cannot write or cannot read and write their own language, from those races (*not nations*) which contributed upwards of 2,000 immigrants to the United States during the past three fiscal years:

WESTERN EUROPE.						1899.	1900.	1901.
Scandinavian	.	.	.	.	.	0.6	0.9	0.6
English	.	.	.	.	.	1.7	0.2	1.1
Scotch	.	.	.	.	.	—	—	1.2
Bohemian and Moravian	.	.	.	.	.	3.3	3.0	1.5
Finnish	.	.	.	.	.	2.0	2.7	2.2
Irish	.	.	.	.	.	3.9	3.3	3.2
French	.	.	.	.	.	3.5	3.9	3.9
German	.	.	.	.	.	3.2	5.8	4.1
Dutch and Flemish	.	.	.	.	.	—	9.6	7.8
Italian (North)	.	.	.	.	.	11.4	11.2	15.7
Average of above	.	.	.	.	.	3.6	4.2	5.6

EASTERN EUROPE (WITH SPAIN AND PORTUGAL).

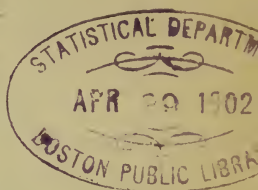
Magyar	.	.	.	.	.	10.8	16.8	7.5
Greek	.	.	.	.	.	23.4	17.1	25.9
Slovak	.	.	.	.	.	27.6	27.9	30.7
Polish	.	.	.	.	.	31.3	31.2	37.5
Croatian and Slovenian	.	.	.	.	.	26.1	37.4	39.7
Lithuanian	.	.	.	.	.	32.4	31.7	49.8
Ruthenian	.	.	.	.	.	—	49.0	53.2
Italian (South)	.	.	.	.	.	57.2	54.6	59.1
Portuguese	.	.	.	.	.	65.5	59.9	63.8
Average of above	.	.	.	.	.	42.4	39.8	46.0

OTHER RACES.

Cuban	.	.	.	.	.	—	6.8	—
Japanese	.	.	.	.	.	4.7	8.9	6.7
Chinese	.	.	.	.	.	—	—	6.9
Hebrew	.	.	.	.	.	20.3	22.9	23.6
Syrian	.	.	.	.	.	56.2	55.9	56.1

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DIGEST OF IMMIGRATION STATISTICS.

EFFECTS OF IMMIGRATION UPON THE
UNITED STATES

AND

REASONS FOR FURTHER RESTRICTION.

PROPOSED LEGISLATION.

I. General Figures as to Total Immigration.

(1.) *Immigration by Decades, 1821 to 1900.*

(From Report of U.S. Industrial Commission, p. 267.)

1821 to 1830	143,439
1831 to 1840	599,125
1841 to 1850	1,713,251
1851 to 1860	2,598,214
1861 to 1870	2,314,824
1871 to 1880	2,812,191
1881 to 1890	5,246,613
1891 to 1900	3,687,561
Total, 1821-1900	19,115,221

(2.) *Immigration by Years from 1885.*

(From Reports of Superintendent and Bureau of Immigration.)

1885	395,346	
1886	334,203	
1887	490,109	
1888	546,889	
1889	444,427	
1890	455,302	
1891	560,319	
1892	579,663	
1893	439,730	[The Cholera Year.]
1894	285,631	[Period of Commercial Depression.]
1895	258,536	
1896	343,267	
1897	230,832	
1898	229,299	
1899	311,715	
1900	448,572	
1901	487,918	

II. Recent Changes in the Nationality of Immigrants.

(Specially prepared for the League from Quarterly Report Bureau Statistics No. 2, Series 1892-1893, and Reports of Commissioner-General of Immigration.)

(1.) Comparison of Certain Groups.

	Per cent. of immigrants from Austria-Hungary, Italy, Poland, and Russia to total immigration.	Per cent. of immigrants from United Kingdom, France, Germany, and Scandinavia to total immigration.
1869	0.9	73.8
1880	8.5	64.5
1890	34.0	57.7
1891	39.6	52.1
1892	44.8	53.9
1893	42.7	48.2
1894	42.6	47.9
1895	39.8	52.9
1896	52.	39.
1897	52.	38.
1898	57.	33.
1899	64.	27.
1900	66.7	25.3
1901	68.6	22.5

Note. — In 1869 the immigrants from Austria-Hungary, Italy, Poland, and Russia were about 1-100th of the number from the United Kingdom, France, Germany, and Scandinavia; in 1880 about 1-10th; in 1894 nearly equal to it; in 1901 three times as great.

(2.) *Western Europe and Eastern Europe.*

Note.—In 1899 the Government abandoned tabulation by political divisions and adopted a classification by races. This was in all respects a more precise and useful division, and had long been needed. In order to preserve the valuable comparison of groups of relatively desirable and relatively undesirable immigrants from Europe, the League has divided Europe by a north and south line as follows: Beginning at the boundary between Finland and Russia the line leaves Finland and Germany on the west, then follows the boundary between Bohemia, Austria and Carinthia on the west, and Galicia, Hungary, and Croatia on the east. It then follows the division between Northern and Southern Italy adopted by the new U.S. classification. Spain and Portugal, having a high illiteracy and sending many undesirable immigrants, are also placed in the eastern division.

The Hebrews are also included in Eastern Europe, as the Government report shows that about seven-tenths come from Russia and most of the balance from Austria-Hungary.

	Immigration from Western Europe.	Per cent. of total Immigration.	Immigration from Eastern Europe.	Per cent. of Total Immigration.
1899	130,160	41.7	175,270	56.2
1900	149,442	33.3	276,793	61.8
1901	164,792	33.7	309,301	62.7

(3.) *Total Immigration of Asian Races.*

1899	8,972
1900	17,946
1901	13,698

(4.) *The Largest Elements in Immigration at Present are:*

	1899.	1900.	1901.
Southern Italian	65,639	84,346	115,704
Hebrew	37,415	60,764	58,098
Polish	28,466	46,938	43,617
Scandinavian	23,249	32,952	40,277
Irish	32,345	35,607	30,404
German	26,632	29,682	34,742
Slovak	15,838	29,243	29,343

III. Conditions of Immigration.

(1.) *Average Money Shown by Immigrants.*

1896	\$11
1897	15
1898	17
1899	17
1900	15
1901	15

Money Brought by the Several Races, 1900.

(*Report of United States Industrial Commission, p. 284.*)

Races.	Amount of money shown per capita.	Races.	Amount of money shown per capita.
Scotch,	\$41.51	Chinese,	\$13.98
Japanese,	39.59	Finnish,	13.06
English,	38.90	Croatian and Slavonian,	12.51
French,	37.80	Slovak,	11.69
Greek,	28.78	Ruthenian (Russniak),	10.51
German,	28.53	Portuguese,	10.47
Bohemian and Moravian,	23.12	Magyar,	10.39
Italian (northern),	22.49	Polish,	9.94
Dutch and Flemish,	21.00	Italian (southern),	8.84
Cuban,	19.34	Hebrew,	8.67
Scandinavian,	16.65	Lithuanian,	7.96
Russian,	14.94		
Irish,	14.50		
Syrian,	14.31		

(2.) *Percentage of Immigrants who have been in the United States before.*

1898	18.
1899	16.
1900	11.6
1901	11.9

(3.) *Percentage of Immigrants having no Occupation, including Women and Children.*

1895	36.
1896	36.
1897	39.
1898	39.4
1899	35.1
1900	30.1
1901	30.5

(4.) *Percentage of Immigrants who were Farm Laborers, Laborers, or Servants.*

1895	42.
1896	46.
1897	40.
1898	40.3
1899	47.3
1900	53.0
1901	53.1

(5.) *Illiteracy.*

(a.) *In General.*

Per cent. of illiterate in total immigration
over 15 years of age.

1895	20
1896	29
1897	23

Over 14 years of age.

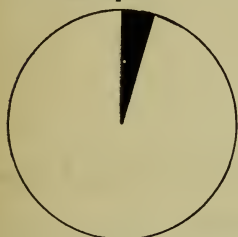
1898	23.
1899	19.7
1900	24.3
1901	27.7

(b.) Of Particular Groups.

(Compiled from the Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration for the Year ending June 30, 1901.)

PERCENTAGES OF ILLITERACY AMONG IMMIGRANTS FROM THOSE NATIONS OF EUROPE WHICH SENT UPWARDS OF 2,000 IMMIGRANTS TO THE UNITED STATES DURING THE FISCAL YEAR 1901.

Coming from Western Europe.



Average of Group, **5.6%**.

The black part shows the proportion of those over fourteen years of age who could not read and write in any language.

Coming from Eastern Europe.



Average of Group, **43.2%**.

Note: that the official figures as to illiteracy are not based upon actual tests, but depend for their accuracy upon the truth of the immigrants' answers to the questions put to them. If they were actually required by the inspectors to read and write before admission, the above figures of illiteracy would undoubtedly be larger.

Number of persons in each hundred immigrants over fourteen years of age who cannot write or cannot read and write their own language, from those races (*not nations*) which contributed upwards of 2,000 immigrants to the United States during the past three fiscal years:

WESTERN EUROPE.	1899.	1900.	1901.
Scandinavian	0.6	0.9	0.6
English	1.7	0.2	1.1
Scotch	—	—	1.2
Bohemian and Moravian	3.3	3.0	1.5
Finnish	2.0	2.7	2.2
Irish	3.9	3.3	3.2
French	3.5	3.9	3.9
German	3.2	5.8	4.1
Dutch and Flemish	—	9.6	7.8
Italian (north)	11.4	11.2	15.7
Average of above	3.6	4.2	5.6

EASTERN EUROPE (WITH SPAIN AND PORTUGAL).						1899.	1900.	1901.
Magyar	.	.	.	.	.	10.8	16.8	7.5
Hebrew	.	.	.	.	.	20.3	22.9	23.6
Greek	.	.	.	.	.	23.4	17.1	25.9
Slovak	.	.	.	.	.	27.6	27.9	30.7
Polish	.	.	.	.	.	31.3	31.2	37.5
Croatian and Slovenian	.	.	.	.	.	26.1	37.4	39.7
Lithuanian	.	.	.	.	.	32.4	31.7	49.8
Ruthenian	.	.	.	.	.	—	49.0	53.2
Italian (South)	.	.	.	.	.	57.2	54.6	59.1
Portuguese	.	.	.	.	.	65.5	59.9	63.8
Average of above						37.6	36.4	43.5

OTHER RACES.

Cuban	.	.	.	.	.	—	6.8	—
Japanese	.	.	.	.	.	4.7	8.9	6.7
Chinese	.	.	.	.	.	—	—	6.9
Syrian	.	.	.	.	.	56.2	55.9	56.1

(c.) Illiteracy of Italian Immigrants.

(From manifests of 3,174 immigrants over 14 years of age arriving at the port of New York during April, 1896, on four steamers from Genoa and Naples. This is believed to present a fair average of recent Italian immigration.)

Total Immigrants examined,	3,174
Percentage of males,	89.2
Percentage of females,	10.8
Total illiterates,	2,147
Percentage of total immigrants who were illiterates,	67.6
Percentage of male illiteracy,	66.5
Percentage of female illiteracy,	75.7
Number debarred under existing laws,	197
Percentage debarred of total immigrants,	6.2
Number which would have been debarred by a reading and writing test,	2,147
Or a percentage of,	67.6
Percentage of those who had been in the United States before,	27.7
Percentage of total immigrants who were laborers,	85.8

IV. Effects of Immigration in the United States.

(1.) *Crime, Insanity, and Pauperism.*

According to the *Census of 1890* [*Part II.*, pp. 169, 174, 182] those of foreign birth or parentage, who are 38 per cent. of the total white population, furnish over $\frac{1}{2}$ the white convicts of the United States, while the foreign-born population, who are about 15 per cent. of the total population, furnish $\frac{1}{3}$ of the insane, and nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ of the paupers of the United States.

Or, comparing an equal number of the foreign element and the native element, the foreigners furnish $1\frac{1}{2}$ times as many criminals, $2\frac{1}{3}$ times as many insane, and 3 times as many paupers.

(*From Senate Report No. 290, 54th Congress, 1st Session, 1896.*)

Country.	Commitments to all penal institutions of Massachusetts per 1,000 inhabitants from countries named, less drunks.	Illiteracy of Immigrants (1895).
Scandinavia	5.1	1
Germany	3.6	2
Scotland	5.8	3
France	6.1	3
England	7.2	3
Ireland	7.1	7
Russia	7.9	26
Austria	10.4	28
Poland	16.0	29
Hungary	15.4	33
Italy	18.2	44

(2.) *Distribution of Immigrants.*

(a.) *Foreign-Born in the United States.*

(*Census of 1890. Population. Part I.*, pp. lxxxii, cxxxv.)

The total foreign-born population of the United States is 9,249,547, constituting 14.77 per cent. of the entire population of the United States.

This foreign-born population is made up as follows :

	Number.	Per cent.
North and South Americans	1,088,245	11.76
Great Britain and Ireland	3,122,911	33.76
Germanic nations	3,119,583	33.73
Scandinavian nations	933,249	10.09
Slav nations	510,625	5.52
Latin nations	319,822	3.46
Asiatic nations	113,383	1.23
All others	41,729	0.45
Total	9,249,547	100.0

(b.) Distribution of Foreign-Born.

(Compiled from Census of 1890, Part I., p. cxxxvi.)

	North Atlantic.	South Atlantic.	North Central.	South Central.	Western.
Great Britain and Ireland,	59.5	2.5	27.6	2.4	7.9
France,	36.0	2.2	34.1	12.7	14.9
Germany,	32.2	2.9	56.4	4.1	4.3
Bohemia,	10.4	1.4	84.3	3.1	0.8
Scandinavia,	12.7	0.3	76.0	0.8	10.0
Austria,	49.9	1.7	31.8	8.4	8.1
Hungary,	72.9	1.8	22.1	1.4	1.6
Italy,	65.0	2.7	12.0	6.7	13.7
Poland,	38.4	1.7	57.0	1.7	1.2
Russia,	50.9	3.2	38.2	1.5	6.1

"South Atlantic" includes States south of N. J. and Pa.

"South Central" includes States south of the Ohio River and Mo.

Note: that only 4.6 per cent. of the Poles and only 4.8 per cent. of the Hungarians and 10.8 per cent. of the Russians live in the Southern States or in the Western Division; altogether only 29,528, scattered in a total population of nearly twenty-three millions.

Note: that while the non-Atlantic States gain three-fourths of the Germans and Scandinavians, the Atlantic States are burdened with two-thirds of the Russians, Hungarians, and Italians.

(c.) **Congestion in Certain States.**

(Compiled from the Reports of the Commissioner-General of Immigration.)

Per cent. of total immigration destined for the four States of Illinois, Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania.	Per cent. of total immigration destined for States south of the Potomac River, Pennsyl- vania, and the Ohio River, or west of the Mississippi River.
1895 72.	1895 —
1896 72.	1896 11.
1897 71.	1897 15.
1898 68.9	1898 15.2
1899 68.7	1899 15.7
1900 68.8	1900 13.4
1901 69.5	1901 13.5

(d.) Rural and Urban Distribution.

It is said that there is plenty of room in this country in the West on farms and ranches to receive an unlimited number of immigrants of whatever character they may be.

In considering this statement the following figures are of interest. [*From Bureau of Statistics, Quarterly Report, No. 2, 1892.*] Of a total foreign-born population of 9,249,547 in 1890, 4,081,927, or **44 per cent.** of them, were found in the 124 principal cities of the United States.

Of persons born in Norway	20.8%	live in cities.
“ “ “ “ England	40.7	“ “ “
“ “ “ “ Germany	47.7	“ “ “
“ “ “ “ Ireland	55.9	“ “ “
“ “ “ “ Poland	57.1	“ “ “
“ “ “ “ Russia	57.9	“ “ “
“ “ “ “ Italy	58.8	“ “ “

Congestion of Recent Immigration and of that most Affected by the Illiteracy Test in Large Cities and Centres of Population.

(From the Senate Report No. 290, 54th Congress, 1st Session, 1896.)

In 1890 there were 147,740 persons in this country born in Poland. Of these there were in the States of —

[illegible]

Now let us see how they are distributed within these States.

Illinois :

Cook County (Chicago)	25,336
-----------------------	--------

Michigan :

Wayne County (Detroit)	5,599
Manistee County	2,607
Bay County	1,973
Kent County	1,175

New York :

Erie County (Buffalo)	8,929
New York County (New York)	6,759
Kings County (Brooklyn)	1,957

Pennsylvania :

Allegheny County (Pittsburg)	3,343
Luzerne County	7,408
Northumberland County	2,083
Philadelphia County (Philadelphia)	2,189
Schuylkill County	4,492

Wisconsin :

Milwaukee County (Milwaukee)	10,066
Portage County	2,070

In 1890 there were 182,580 Italians. Of these there were in Massachusetts 8,066, and 4,799 in Suffolk County (Boston). In New York, 64,141, of which 39,951 were in New York County (city of New York); Kings County (Brooklyn), 9,789; Westchester County, 1,820; Erie County (Buffalo), 1,908. In Pennsylvania, 24,662, of which 6,799 were in Philadelphia County; Allegheny County (Pittsburg), 3,498; Luzerne County, 1,661. In New Jersey, 12,989, of which 3,598 were in Essex County; Hudson County (Jersey City), 3,039. In Illinois, 8,035, of which 5,734 were in Cook County (Chicago). In Louisiana, 7,767, of which 3,622 were in Orleans County (New Orleans). In California, 15,495, of which 5,212 were in San Francisco.

There were 182,644 from Russia. Of these there were in the States of —

New York	58,466
Pennsylvania	17,315
Massachusetts	7,325

Connecticut	3,027
South Dakota	12,398
Michigan	11,889
Illinois	8,407
Kansas	9,801

Of these New York City had 48,790; Brooklyn, 3,397; Rochester, 1,085; Albany, 479; Syracuse, 774; Elmira, 108; Long Island City, 121.

There were in Boston 4,305, or more than attributed to Massachusetts; Philadelphia, 7,879; Chicago, 7,683; New Haven, 1,160; Hartford, 492; Bridgeport, 102; Waterbury, 123.

One-half of these Russians are found in the Atlantic division, or 89,896, and in the Central division, 69,907.

Philadelphia has	7,897
Pittsburg	2,279
Scranton	488
Wilkesbarre	149

Kansas:

Marion County	316
Ellis County	1,269
McPherson County	1,654

Michigan:

Portland County	3,521
Gogebic County	1,129
Marquette County	2,563

In 1880 there were only 8,967 of these in the 50 principal cities. In 1890 there were 98,355.

(c.) Destination of Illiterates.

(From Manifests of 1000 Immigrants at New York, 1896.)

	Penn.	By Numbers.					By Percentages.		
		Other N.Y. Atlantic.	Central and Middle.	Western.	Atlantic.	Non- Atlantic.	Atlantic.	Non- Atlantic.	
Russians, 11	28	11	4	1	50	5	91%	9%	
Hungarians, 76	20	34	4	0	130	4	97	3	
Galicians, 25	12	26	11	5	63	16	80	20	
Croats, etc., 20	8	0	4	4	28	8	78	22	
Syrians, 0	21	2	0	4	23	4	85	15	
Totals, 132	89	73	23	14	294	37	89	11	

Only 11 illiterates were destined to the South, 1 Hungarian going to Delaware, 3 to West Virginia, and 2 Galicians to Maryland, while the 5 who were going to Missouri were sent before the Board of Special Inquiry on suspicion of being contract laborers and were admitted for lack of evidence.

Italians. — From examination of the manifests of 3,174 immigrants over 14 years of age arriving at the port of New York, on four steamers from Genoa and Naples, in 1896, it appeared that 95.3% were destined for New England, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.

Of those destined for "other States" 31 or less than 1% were bound to States west of the Mississippi river, and only 11 to States south of Pennsylvania and the Ohio river, while only 3 were going to the Southern States proper.

Note: that an educational test as a measure of restriction would not affect in any important degree the Western and Southern States, many of which are naturally desirous of obtaining a large immigration; because the races like the Germans, Scandinavians, Bohemians, French, and English, which would be little affected by an educational test, largely go West, while the illiterate races, such as the Hungarians, Galicians, and Italians, remain to lower the standards of the already crowded Atlantic territory, as appears by the tables above.

(f.) Illiterates and Slums.

The *Seventh Special Report of the U.S. Commissioner of Labor* (1894) shows (p. 44) that the proportion of those of foreign birth or parentage to the total population in the slums of Baltimore was 77 per cent., in Chicago 90 per cent., in New York 95 per cent., and in Philadelphia 91 per cent. The figures for the foreign-born alone are correspondingly striking. It appears from the same report (pp. 160-3) that of every 100 aliens, 40 were illiterate in the slums of Baltimore, 47 in Chicago, 59 in New York, and 51 in Philadelphia; and that of every 100 of these illiterate aliens there were 67 males of voting age in Baltimore, 77 in Chicago, 78 in New York, and 85 in Philadelphia.

The proportion in which the literate and illiterate nationalities contribute to the slum population is shown by the following tables, compiled from the same report, pp. 41, 72:

*Austria-Hungary, Italy,
Poland, and Russia.*

Per cent. of Total Population.	Per cent. of Slum Population.
-----------------------------------	----------------------------------

1.97	12.72
------	-------

Baltimore.

|

Chicago.

6.41	44.44
------	-------

|

New York.

9.45	51.11
------	-------

|

Philadelphia.

1.95	50.28
------	-------

|

*United Kingdom, France,
Germany, and Scandinavia.*

Per cent. of Total Population.	Per cent. of Slum Population.
-----------------------------------	----------------------------------

13.52	27.29
-------	-------

30.70	10.64
-------	-------

30.73	8.64
-------	------

22.95	8.44
-------	------

Note: that Southeastern Europe furnishes 3 times as many inhabitants as Northwestern Europe to the slums of Baltimore, 19 times as many to the slums of New York, 20 times as many to the slums of Chicago, 71 times as many to the slums of Philadelphia.

The comparative degree of illiteracy of foregoing elements of slums is as follows for the above-mentioned four cities:

Scandinavia,	5.6%
Great Britain,	7.0
France,	10.2
Germany,	21.9
Ireland,	40.4
Average of Group,	25.5
Austria-Hungary,	16.6
Russia,	37.1
Poland,	46.1
Italy,	66.4
Average of Group,	54.5
Native Americans,	7.4

(3.) Naturalization of Aliens.

By *Census of 1890, Part II., p. 683*, out of the total foreign-born males over 21 years of age, 32.8 per cent. were not naturalized; *i.e.*, nearly $\frac{1}{3}$ of the foreign adult males are not citizens. And out of the total male population of the United States over 21 years of age, 7 per cent. are aliens. Of the 1,189,452 aliens in the United States, 32.6 per cent. do not speak English.

From the *Census of 1890* [*Part II.*, pp. 600, 688] it appears that the proportion of the foreign-born of the various races who were still aliens was as follows:

Slav,	21.4%	British,	9.3%
Latin,	29.7	Germanic,	9.7
Asiatic,	85.7	Scandinavian,	13.2
Average,	32.0	Average,	9.9

(4.) *Replacing of Native Stock by Foreign Stock.*

Perhaps the most important effect of immigration, and the one to which popular attention has been least directed, is that of the supplanting of one race by another in this country. In this view the descendants of the settlers of British origin, and later the immigrants of Irish, German, French, and Scandinavian origin, have tended to increase less rapidly on account of the coming of immigrants of habits, customs, and modes of thought alien to those already here and of an inferior social and economic status. The result is not merely a social and economic struggle between those already here and those coming, in which it may be true that the former are in general victorious and are displaced upwards to take more lucrative and responsible positions; but there is another struggle between the new-comers and their children on the one side, and the children of those already here on the other, in which the latter are defeated and slain by never being allowed to come into existence.

Francis A. Walker, Superintendent of the Censuses of 1870 and 1880, maintained that if there had been no immigration whatever into this country during the past 90 years, "the native element would long ago have filled the place the foreigners have usurped." And he further says:

"The American shrank from the industrial competition thus thrust upon him. He was unwilling himself to engage in the lowest kind of day labor with these new elements of population; he was even more unwilling to bring sons and daughters into the world to enter into that competition. . . . The great fact protrudes through all the subsequent history of our population that the more rapidly foreigners came into the United States the smaller was the rate of increase, not merely among the native population, but throughout the population of the country as a whole, including the foreigners. . . . If the foregoing views are true, or contain any considerable degree of truth, foreign immigration into this country has, from the time it assumed large proportions, amounted not to a reinforcement of our population, but to a replacement of native by foreign stock." (*See articles in "Forum," 1891, pp. 634-743; reprinted in "Discussions in Economics and Statistics," Vol. II., pp. 417-426; also article in "Atlantic Monthly," Vol. 77, p. 822, June, 1896.*)

The United States Industrial Commission says in its report, p. 277: "It is a hasty assumption which holds that immigration during the nineteenth century has increased the total population."

IV. Nationalities of Immigrants desired by the States.

(From Report of the Immigration Investigating Commission, January, 1896. The Commission sent letters to the Governors of all the States asking what nationalities of immigrants were preferred in their several States.)

Of 52 preferences for different nationalities of immigrants expressed in these replies

- 15 are for Germans.
- 14 are for Scandinavians.
- 12 are for English, Scotch, or Irish.
- 3 are for French.
- 2 are for Swiss.
- 2 are for Italians.
- 1 is for Hollanders.
- 1 is for Belgians.
- 1 is for "North of Europe."
- 1 is for Americans.

Note: that there are only 2 calls for immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe, and these are both for Italians. One of the Governors asking for Italians expressly states that he is "not sure that immigrants from any foreign country are desirable as laborers" in his State, and the other says "that unskilled labor is not desired" in his State, but that farmers with small means are highly desirable. As very few of the Italian immigrants now coming to this country settle down and become independent farmers, but are almost entirely unskilled laborers, it may be concluded that in the second case Italian immigration of its present character is not desired.

Note: that there is no call for Poles, Russians, Hungarians, Slovaks, or the other races of Southern and Eastern Europe and of Asia.

Note: that the immigrants from Northern and Western Europe, such as the English, Irish, Scotch, Germans, Scandinavians, and French, who are desired as immigrants in all parts of the United States, are as a whole well educated, there being on the average only four per cent. of illiteracy among them, while the illiteracy of the immigrants from Austria-Hungary, Italy, Russia, and Poland is over forty per cent. An educational test, therefore, requiring every immigrant to be able to read before gaining admission to the United States, would debar a considerable number of the undesirable classes, while it would interfere very little with the immigration from the North and West of Europe.

V. The Present Laws and Their Effects.

(1.) *Excluded Classes.*

The only classes of persons excluded from this country under our present immigration laws (not considering Chinese immigration) are the following: I. *Idiots*; II. *Insane persons*; III. *Paupers or persons likely to become a public charge*; IV. *Persons with a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease*; V. *Persons who have been convicted of felony or other infamous crime or misdemeanor involving moral turpitude*; VI. *Polygamists*; VII. "*Assisted immigrants*," unless on special inquiry they are found not to belong to any of the foregoing excluded classes; VIII. *Contract laborers*; IX. *Women imported for purposes of prostitution.*

Note. — There are three general misconceptions regarding our present immigration laws. *The first* is that we now require a careful examination of all intending immigrants in Europe, before they embark, and in this way the least desirable element is very largely prevented from coming here. *The second*, that persons who cannot read and write are at present debarred from landing. *The third*, that every immigrant must have \$30 in order to be admitted. None of these is true.

All immigrants except those from Canada and Mexico pay a head tax of \$1.

(2.) *Numbers Debarred and Deported.*

1892	2,801 out of 579,663 or 0.5 per cent.
1893	1,630 out of 440,793 or 0.4 per cent.
1894	2,389 out of 228,020 or 1.0 per cent.
1895	2,419 out of 258,536 or 1.0 per cent.
1896	3,037 out of 343,267 or 0.9 per cent.
1897	1,880 out of 230,832 or 0.8 per cent.
1898	3,194 out of 229,299 or 1.4 per cent.
1899	4,061 out of 311,715 or 1.3 per cent.
1900	4,602 out of 448,572 or 1.3 per cent.
1901	3,879 out of 487,918 or 0.8 per cent.

VI. Proposed Methods of Restriction.

(1.) *Consular Certificate Plan.*

It has been suggested that the U.S. consuls shall examine intending immigrants at the various ports of embarkation and certify as to their admissibility under the U.S. immigration laws. This plan was formerly very popular and at first sight seems an excellent one; but closer examination discloses defects in it that not only make it useless but show it would endanger all the good of the present system of inspection. Some of these objections are as follows:

1. Necessitates a large increase in consular force, and consequent expense.
2. Divides responsibility between the consul and the inspector at the American port. In doubtful cases each would throw responsibility upon the other and the immigrant would be allowed to enter; or else
3. Works hardships on the immigrants, because it is not certain that all with consular certificates will be allowed to land.
4. Consuls have not the time to examine the large numbers embarking at one time, and the result would be that inspection would practically be done by their clerks, who are frequently natives and who would generally sympathize with the immigrants, and in any case would be less efficient and responsible, and more open to corruption.
5. Does not add at all to the classes now excluded by law, but is simply an administrative measure.* Other classes are objectionable also.
6. Does not draw any line of exclusion more definite than the present law, which vests an unlimited and burdensome discretion in the immigration officials.
7. If consular inspection were public the foreign governments could at once tell whom to detain as being desirable citizens, and fit for military service; or
8. If secret consular inspection were contemplated foreign governments would not permit its introduction.

(2.) *The Educational Test.*

(a.) *Advantages of the Educational Test as a Means of further Restricting Immigration.*

1. Excludes the people we wish to exclude; *i.e.*, those who are degraded, ignorant alike of their own language and of any occupation, incapable

of appreciating our institutions and standards of living, and very difficult of assimilation.

2. Adds to the excluded classes.
3. In practice would be applied at place where ticket bought and applied by steamship companies, therefore
4. Does not imply any great change in existing machinery, or any large increase in consular service and expense.
5. Inspection is not committed to persons in remote countries where surveillance is difficult, but remains a uniform system, which is public and easily controlled.
6. Is exact and definite in its operation; easily and simply applied, and therefore
7. Diminishes the labor of the boards of special inquiry, and gives the immigration officials opportunity for a more thorough inspection.
8. Secures rudimentary education on the part of all foreigners applying for naturalization papers and American citizenship.
9. Promotes education among those who desire to immigrate, and to that extent improves the social condition of Europe.
10. Saves the hardship to the immigrant of making the voyage in doubt as to his admission or exclusion, and therefore
11. Does away in large part with the separation of families, and with a temptation to a lax enforcement of inspection, in order to prevent such separation. Intending immigrants can tell before starting whether they are eligible or not, and can decide whether to separate or not.

(b.) Proposed Bill.

The Immigration Restriction League is not committed to any one method of restriction. It recognizes the need of many administrative reforms, and of a proper treaty with Canada concerning European and Asiatic immigration through that country; it is also not opposed to a small increase of the head-tax for the purpose of improving the efficiency of the inspection service. Nevertheless it believes that the most important reform at present is legislation which will really exclude the most undesirable elements of the present immigration.

The League has therefore prepared a bill embodying the educational test as follows:

A BILL TO AMEND THE IMMIGRATION LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled :

That section one of the Act of March third, eighteen hundred and ninety-one, in amendment of the immigration and contract labor Acts, be and hereby is amended by adding to the classes of aliens thereby excluded from admission to the United States the following :

All persons over fifteen years of age and physically capable of reading, who cannot read the English language or some other language ; but an admissible immigrant or a person now in or hereafter admitted to this country may bring in or send for his wife, his children under eighteen years of age, and his parents or grandparents over fifty years of age, if they are otherwise admissible, whether they are so able to read or not.

SECT. 2. That for the purpose of testing the ability of the immigrant ~~to read~~, as required by the foregoing section, the inspection officers shall be furnished with copies of the Constitution of the United States, printed on ~~uniform~~ pasteboard slips, each containing not less than twenty nor more than twenty-five words, of said Constitution printed in the various languages of the immigrants in double small pica type. Each immigrant may designate the language in which he prefers the test shall be made, and shall be required to read the words printed on a slip in such language. No two immigrants listed on the same manifest shall be tested with the same slip. An immigrant failing to read as above provided shall not be admitted, but shall be returned to the country from which he came at the expense of the steamship or railroad company which brought him.

SECT. 3. That the provisions of the Act of March third, eighteen hundred and ninety-three, to facilitate the enforcement of the immigration and contract labor laws shall apply to the persons mentioned in Section one of this Act.

(c.) Endorsements.

The principle of the educational test has been endorsed in past years by about 90 PER CENT. of the PRESS of the United States which has pronounced editorially upon the question of restriction, and was asked for by petitions of thousands of citizens sent to the 54th and 55th Congresses.

The following bodies and individuals are among those that have at various times endorsed the test :

STATE LEGISLATURES.

Arkansas House of Representatives by a vote of 80 to 2, January, 1897.
 The Legislature of the State of California.
 The Legislature of the State of Washington.
 The Legislature of the State of Wyoming.

ASSOCIATIONS FOR PROMOTING IMMIGRATION.

John M. Haines, Esq., Secretary Idaho Immigration Association.
 Sewell Davis, Esq., Secretary Montana Mining and Immigration Committee,
 Butte, Mont.
 S. W. Narregang, Esq., Secretary South Dakota Immigration Association.
 D. R. McGinnis, Esq., Secretary North Western Immigration Association.
 Sixth Congressional District Immigration Association, Aikin, Minn., March
 17, 18, 1896.
 South Dakota Immigration Association.
 Washington State Immigration Society, Seattle, Jan. 14, 1896.

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

National and International.

American Federation of Labor, by a vote of 1,858 to 352, Nashville, Dec. 17,
 1897.
 General Assembly, Knights of Labor, Rochester, N.Y., Nov. 14, 1896;
 November, 1897; November, 1901.
 Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders of America, December, 1897.
 Carpenters and Joiners National Brotherhood, Cleveland, Sept. 29, 1896.
 Core Makers' International Union, Newark, N.J., Aug. 25, 1897.
 Henry Weil, Esq., Secretary American Diamond Verstellers Union, New
 York.
 Electrical Workers of America, November, 1897.
 Henry White, Esq., General Secretary United Garment Workers of
 America.
 Glass Blowers' Association of America.
 Glass Blowers' Association of United States and Canada.
 Glass Bottle Blowers of United States and Canada.
 Granite Cutters' National Union.
 Horseshoers' International Union, Buffalo, May 30, 1896.
 United Wood Carvers' Association, New York, December, 1896.

Local.

- D. C.* — Central Labor Union, *Washington*, 1896 and Dec. 6, 1897.
 “ Local Assembly, No. 2672, Knights of Labor, *Washington*,
 Oct. 11, 1897.
 “ Knights of Labor District Assembly, No. 66, *Washington*.

Ill. — Journeymen Tailors' Union, *Bloomington*.

- “ Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' Union, No. 1, *Chicago*.
 “ Carpenters' Union, No. 10, *Chicago*.
 “ Hoisting Engineers' Association, *Chicago*, March, 1897.
 “ Woman's Fed. Labor Union, No. 2703, *Chicago*, Dec. 3, 1897.
 “ Zinc Workers' Protective Association, No. 6500, *Collinsville*, Sept. 11,
 1897.

Mass. — Central Labor Union, *Brockton*.

- “ Lodge No. 21, Amalgamated Association of Iron, Tin, and Steel
 Workers, *Cambridge*.
 “ Workingmen's Protective League, *Lowell*, Nov. 26, 1897.

Mich. — Chandelier Workers' Union, No. 6913, *Detroit*, Sept. 3, 1897.

- “ Council of Trades and Labor Unions, *Detroit*, Feb. 11, 1897.
 “ Cigarmakers' Local Union, No. 22, *Detroit*, 1897; Dec. 7, 1901.
 “ Edison Union, *Port Huron*.
 “ Trades and Labor Council, *Port Huron*.
 “ Longshoremen's Union, *Port Huron*.
 “ Journeymen Barbers' Union, *Port Huron*.
 “ Typographical Union, *Port Huron*.
 “ Cigarmakers' Union, No. 368, *Port Huron*, November, 1901.

Minn. — Central Saw Mill Workers' Protective Union, No. 6724, *Duluth*,
 Sept. 4, 1897.*N. J.* — Screw Makers' Union, No. 6585, *Elizabeth*, Sept. 27, 1897.

- “ Hatters' Union, *Newark*, December, 1896.
 “ Typographical Union, *Newark*, December, 1896.
 “ Morocco Dressers' Union, *Newark*, December, 1896.
 “ Silk Workers' Union, *Newark*, December, 1896.
 “ Central Labor Union, *Newark*, December, 1896.

N. Y. — Branch No. 1, American Workmen's Protective League, *Brooklyn*.

- “ Central Labor Union, *New York City*, Jan. 31, 1897.
 “ Protective Labor Union, *New York City*.

- N. Y.* — Blacksmiths' Helpers' Union, No. 6931, *New York City*, Sept. 3, 1897.
- “ Brass Moulders' Union, *New York City*, December, 1896.
- “ Stair Builders' Union, *New York City*, December, 1896.
- “ Stone Cutters' Union, *New York City*, December, 1896.
- “ Typographical Union, *New York City*, December, 1896.
- “ United Wood Carvers, *New York City*, December, 1896.
- “ United Garment Workers, Local No. 136, *Rochester*, Dec. 20, 1897, and Nov. 18, 1901.
- O.* — Trades and Labor Assembly of Ohio.
- “ Coöperative Trades and Labor Council, *Hamilton*, Sept. 8, 1897.
- “ Trades and Labor Assembly, *Massilon*.
- Pa.* — Kane Labor League, *Kane*.
- “ Knights of Labor Social Assembly, No. 1562.
- “ Glass Bottle Blowers, *Philadelphia*.
- “ Cigar Makers' Union, No. 295, *Scranton*.

OTHER BODIES AND INDIVIDUALS.

National.

- National Board of Trade, *Philadelphia*.
- American Agents' Association, *Louisville, Ky.*, Aug. 30, 1897.
- American Agents' Association, Nov. 18, 1901.
- Commercial Travellers of United States.
- Farmers' Congress, *Indianapolis, Ind.*, 1896.

Local.

- Cal.* — A. Eckstrom, Registrar of Associated Charities of *San Joaquin County*, *Stockton*, Nov. 26, 1901.
- Col.* — Mrs. S. Izetta George, Secretary Charity Organization Society, *Denver*, Oct. 28, 1901.
- Conn.* — Associated Charities, *Bridgeport*, Nov. 11, 1901.
- “ A. S. Finch, Esq., Agent Associated Charities, *New Britain*, Oct. 31, 1901.
- Fla.* — L. B. Wombwell, Esq., Commissioner of Agriculture.
- Ill.* — Board of Trade, *Chicago*, Dec. 15, 1896.
- “ Miss Mary P. Roberts, Superintendent Associated Charities, *Jacksonville*, Nov. 2, 1901.
- Ind.* — C. S. Grout, Esq., General Secretary Charity Organization Society, *Indianapolis*, Oct. 26, 1901.

- La.* — Michel Heymann, Esq., Superintendent Jewish Orphans' Home, *New Orleans*, Oct. 28, 1901.
- “ Miss Sophie B. Wright, State Secretary, International Order of King's Daughters and Sons, *New Orleans*, Nov. 25, 1901.
- Mass.* — State Board of Trade, Jan. 19, 1897.
- “ Associated Charities, *Lynn*, Nov. 25, 1901.
- “ Associated Charities, *Salem*, Nov. 1, 1901.
- “ Boston Chamber of Commerce, *Boston*, Jan. 22, 1896.
- “ The Bostonian Club, *Boston*.
- “ Bostoniana Club of *Boston*.
- “ Park Street Club, *Boston*.
- Minn.* — Common Council and Mayor of *Duluth*, March 16, 1896, by a unanimous vote.
- “ O. C. Gregg, Esq., Superintendent State Farmers' Institute, Dec. 10, 1897, *Lynde*.
- Mo.* — J. M. Hanson, Esq., General Secretary Associated Charities, *Kansas City*, Oct. 28, 1901.
- Mont.* — S. M. Emery, Esq., Director Montana Agricultural Experiment Station.
- “ Jas. H. Mills, Esq., and J. A. Ferguson, Esq., Commissioners Bureau of Agriculture, Labor and Industry, *Helena*.
- Neb.* — The Nebraska Club.
- N.J.* — A. W. McDougall, Esq., General Secretary Associated Charities, *Orange*, Oct. 30, 1901.
- “ Miss Sarah M. Van Boskerck, Agent Organized Aid Association, *Plainfield*, Oct. 29, 1901.
- N.Y.* — Daniel O'Leary, Esq., Chief Factory Inspector, State of New York.
- “ Dr. J. H. Senner, when United States Commissioner of Immigration Port of New York.
- “ Catholic Temperance Society, *Buffalo*, January, 1898.
- “ Hon. John G. Milburn, President of Pan-American Exposition. *Buffalo*, Dec., 1901.
- “ Frederic Almy, Esq., Secretary Charity Organization Society, *Buffalo*, Oct. 24, 1901.
- “ Charity Organization Society, *Castleton*, Nov. 14, 1901.
- “ Hon. Chas. Stewart Smith, Ex-President New York Chamber of Commerce, *New York City*.
- “ Mr. Justice Robert C. Cornell, *New York City*.
- “ Edward T. Devine, Esq., General Secretary of Charity Organization Society and Editor of “Charities,” *New York City*, Oct. 22, 1901.

- N. Y.* — Homer Folks, Esq., Secretary State Charities Aid Association, *New York City*, Oct. 23, 1901.
- Ohio.* — C. M. Hubbard, Esq., General Secretary Associated Charities, *Cincinnati*, Oct. 26, 1901.
- “ *Cleveland* Chamber of Commerce, Dec. 15, 1896.
- “ J. H. Brigham, Esq., President of Trustees of Ohio State Penitentiary, *Delta*.
- Ore.* — W. R. Walpole, Esq., Secretary Associated Charities, *Portland*, Nov., 1901.
- Pa.* — Association for the Improvement of the Poor, *Pittsburg*, Nov. 11, 1901.
- S. D.* — Hon. Thomas Thorson, Secretary of State, *Pierre*.
- Texas.* — W. T. Levy, Esq., U.S. Inspector of Immigration, *Galveston*.
- Wash.* — Seattle Chamber of Commerce, *Seattle*.
- Wis.* — Associated Charities, *Milwaukee*, Nov. 8, 1901.

(3.) *Restriction Generally.*

A very large number of important names of those favoring measures for restricting immigration, though not in terms advocating the educational test, may be added to the above. A few of these are:

Atlantic Coast Seamen's Union, April, 1895.

National Association of Hatmakers of the United States, New York, Jan. 25, 1895.

Eighty-five local unions of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, 1897.

E. E. Clark, Esq., Grand Chief of Order of Railway Conductors.
Secretary Pearce of the United Mine Workers.

International Convention of Factory Inspectors, Detroit, Sept. 2, 1897.

Farmers' National Congress, St. Paul, Minn., September, 1897.

National Prison Reform Association, Austin, Texas, December, 1897.

Commander Booth-Tucker of the Salvation Army.

Cal. — Building Trades Council of *San Francisco*, Nov. 20, 1897.

Col. — Colorado State Grange, Jan. 12, 1898.

Conn. — Connecticut Branch American Federation of Labor, Hartford, Oct. 14, 1896.

“ Mrs. Mary A. T. Clark, Superintendent Associated Charities, *Wilmington*, Nov. 2, 1901.

Ill. — State Branch American Federation of Labor, Bloomington, September, 1897.

Ill. — Ernest P. Bicknell, Esq., General Superintendent Bureau of Charities, *Chicago*, Nov. 4, 1901.

Ky. — Miss E. A. Gallagher, Secretary Charity Organization Society, *Louisville*, Nov. 16, 1901.

Mass. — Massachusetts House of Representatives, 1895.

“ International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, Local No. 16, *Boston*.

“ Bricklayers' International Union, *Worcester*, Jan. 21, 1897.

“ Clothing Cutters' and Trimmers' Unions, *Boston*, April 8, 1895.

“ Brockton Branch of Lasters' Protective Union, *Brockton* (1,100 members).

“ Hon. Roger Wolcott, late Governor of Massachusetts.

“ Mrs. Lucia T. Ames, Factory Inspector, State of Massachusetts.

Mont. — Hon. Robert B. Smith, Governor of Montana.

Nev. — Legislature of the State of Nevada, March, 1897.

N. Y. — Joint State Convention of Labor Organizations, State of New York, January, 1898.

“ Prof. George Gunton, *New York City*, Oct. 23, 1901.

“ Walter Laidlaw, Esq., Secretary of Federation of Churches, *New York City*, Oct. 21, 1901.

Ohio. — American Federation of Labor, Ohio State Branch, December, 1897.

“ Trades Assembly, *Columbus*, November, 1897.

“ Hon. William Ruhrwein, Labor Commissioner of State of Ohio.

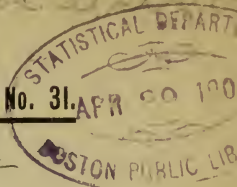
Pa. — Local Assembly 4907, *Pittsburg*, June, 1897.

“ George Hoffman, Esq., Examiner of Department of Charities, *Pittsburg*, Pa.

Wis. — Mrs. Ivah B. Wiltrout, Secretary Associated Charities, *Eau Claire*, Nov. 11, 1901.

For publications and membership in the Immigration Restriction League, address PRESCOTT F. HALL, Secretary and Treasurer, Fiske Building, Boston. The dues for membership are as follows: For *annual* membership, one dollar, payable in advance upon admission and upon January 1st of each year; for *life* membership, ten dollars, payable upon admission, life members being exempt from annual dues.

The League is a strictly non-partisan and non-sectarian organization, with members from all parts of the United States. It advocates a stricter regulation of immigration, but not the exclusion of any immigrants whose character and standards fit them to become citizens.



SOME REASONS

FOR THE

ADOPTION OF THE EDUCATIONAL TEST

AS A MEANS OF

FURTHER RESTRICTING AND REGULATING IMMIGRATION.

The reasons for adopting this test are PRACTICAL and NOT ACADEMIC. Its adoption is urged because the majority of those who believe in limiting immigration, and who have studied the immigration problem carefully, have come to the conclusion that this is THE BEST MEANS READY AT HAND to accomplish their purpose. Those who believe in the educational test do not claim in advocacy of it that the man who cannot read will NECESSARILY make a less desirable citizen than the man who can read.

The reasons for adopting this Test are as follows:

1. Because it has been found as an actual fact that the classes whom we wish to exclude (*i.e.*, those who are ignorant of any occupation, who are on the whole incapable of appreciating our institutions and standards of living, and who are very difficult of assimilation) contain a very large proportion of illiterates, and that by adopting the Educational Test this class of immigration can be very greatly reduced.
2. Because it is exact and definite in operation; and easily and simply applied.
3. Because a preliminary test would be applied by the Steamship Companies at the places where the tickets are bought, and in this way the hardship of turning back immigrants at our own ports would largely be avoided.

4. Because it does not imply any great change in existing machinery, nor any increase in consular service and expense.

5. Because the ability to read and write is a necessary part of the equipment of the ordinary American citizen, and therefore, other things being equal, it is distinctly to our advantage, so far as possible, to receive only immigrants who can read.

6. Because it will promote education among those who desire to immigrate, and will to that extent improve the social condition of Europe.

7. Because the Educational Test has been endorsed as a practical solution of the question by all the leading students of the immigration problem; by ninety per cent. of the press of the United States; by State Legislatures; by State Associations for promoting Immigration; by Labor Bodies, Chambers of Commerce, Boards of Trade, Charitable Societies, and prominent people in all parts of the country.

Proposed Bill.

Section One of the Bill proposed by the Immigration Restriction League adds to the excluded classes the following:

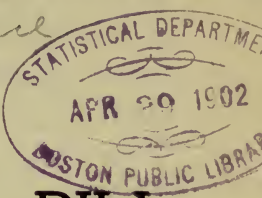
All persons over fifteen years of age, and physically capable of reading, who cannot read the English language or some other language; but an admissible immigrant, or a person now in or hereafter admitted to this country, may bring in or send for his wife, his children under eighteen years of age, and his parents or grandparents over fifty years of age, if they are otherwise admissible, whether they are so able to read or not.

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The League is a strictly non-partisan and non-sectarian organization, with members from all parts of the United States. It advocates a stricter regulation of immigration, but not the exclusion of any immigrants whose character and standards fit them to become citizens.

cont-

Immigration Restriction League



EFFECT

OF THE

EDUCATIONAL TEST BILL

UPON

GERMANS.

Bills have been introduced into Congress for the restriction of immigration by means of an educational test.

There seem to be prevalent certain misunderstandings as to the nature and effect of these bills.

A Misleading Circular.

The following circular, issued by an organization in New York called the Immigration Protective League, has been recently published in German in various German newspapers. It does not appear to have been sent to other newspapers :

CALL TO ARMS.

An energetic Circular from the "Immigration Protective League."

The "Immigration Protective League" has issued the following stirring "call to arms" :

"Again the nativistic serpent raises its poisonous head and seeks to press through the United States Congress some bill to forbid immigration wholly, or to limit it to such an extent that the coming of your brothers and

AUFRUF ZUR ABWEHR.

Ein energisches Manifest von der „Immigration Protective League“ erlassen.

Die „Immigration Protective League“ hat „Zur Abwehr“ folgenden geharnischten Aufruf erlassen :

„Wieder erhebt die nativistische Schlange ihr giftgeschwollenes Haupt und versucht im Ver. Staaten Kongress eine oder die andere Bill durchzudrücken, welche die Einwanderung ganz verbieten oder so einschränken soll, dass der Zuzug Eurer Brüder

sisters from the old fatherland must partly or wholly cease. Do you know what this means? Observe the treatment of the Chinese and negroes in this country and you know what lies before you.

“Hundreds of miles of virgin soil which has no equal for fertility, inexhaustible mines, endless primeval forests wait for the settling pioneer; and yet Senator Lodge ventures, in spite of his earlier defeat, to bring forward again the educational test; Graham wants to fleece every one out of \$20 even before he leaves the fatherland; Scott, Penrose, and Perkins want, if possible, to outdo Lodge, while Congressmen Kahn, Sherman and Shattuc second them. President Roosevelt himself is no friend of hyphenated Americans. Friends, awake! Keep a sharp eye on your representatives and be on the watch before it is too late and the ghosts of the old Puritans again stalk about. Every moment of delay may be fatal. This is no alarmist outcry and false alarm, but a warning entitled to attention.”

und Schwestern vom alten Vaterlande theilweise oder gänzlich aufhören muss. Wisst Ihr, was dies bedeutet? Seht Euch das Los der Chinesen und Schwarzen im Lande an, und Ihr wisst, was Euch bevorsteht.

„Hunderte von Meilen jungfräulichen Bodens, der an Fruchtbarkeit nicht seinesgleichen hat, unerschöpfliche Bergwerke, endlose Urwälder harren des einwandernden Pioniers; und dar wagt es ein Senator Lodge, trotz seiner früheren Niederlage, wieder den Bildungstest vorzuschlagen; Graham will gar jeden schon im alten Vaterlande um \$20 schröpfen; Scott, Penrose, und Perkins wollen durch ihre Bills Lodge, wenn möglich, übertrumpfen, während die Kongreszleute Kahn (?!), Sherman und Shattuc sie sekundiren. Und Präsident Roosevelt, er ist *kein* Freund der Amerikaner mit dem Bindestrich. Freunde, wacht auf! Seht Euren Abgeordneten auf die Finger und passet auf, ehe es zu spät wird und die alten Puritaner wieder ‚umgehen.‘ Jeder versäumte Augenblick kann verhängnisvoll werden. Dies ist kein Alarmruf und Schreckschuss, sondern eine wohlberechtigte Mahnung.“ — *New York Staatszeitung*, Jan. 4, 1902.

The statements contained in this circular are either based on a complete misunderstanding of the educational test bill or are clearly intended to deceive.

(1.) “*The nativistic serpent.*”

Bills providing for an educational test have received the indorsement of all the great labor organizations, of nearly all the representatives of labor who appeared to testify before the Industrial Commission, of Associated Charities throughout the country, of Associations for Promoting Immigration into the Western States, and of an almost united newspaper press.

There has been absolutely no racial, class, creed or party distinction in the persons, bodies and papers favoring restriction by this means.

Germans only Slightly Affected.

(2.) "*To forbid immigration wholly or to limit it to such an extent that the coming of your brothers and sisters from the old fatherland must partly or wholly cease.*"

How misleading this statement is can be readily seen from the following government statistics :

In 1901 out of a total immigration of 487,918 there were only 34,742 Germans ; of these 34,742 only 4.1 per cent. were illiterate.

In 1896 only 1.8 per cent. of Germans were illiterate.

Thus under the most rigid educational test bill only 1,389 Germans would have been debarred.

(3.) Notice, however, that under the bills now in Congress a large number of these 1,389 would be allowed to enter, for the bill prepared by the Immigration Restriction League provides that

An admissible immigrant or a person now in or hereafter admitted to this country may bring in or send for his wife, his children under eighteen years of age, and his parents or grandparents over fifty years of age if they are otherwise admissible, whether they are so able to read or not.

(4.) The bill, then, will not divide families.

(5.) The bill applies the educational test only to persons over fifteen years of age and with the above exceptions.

Actual Proof of Misunderstanding.

(6.) The bill does *not* require reading *in English*. The immigrant may read in German or any language which he chooses to designate.

The "Courier," of Evansville, Indiana, on January 19, 1897, in speaking of the protests against the Lodge Bill from the various branches of the German Catholic Central Society of the United States, said :

"Nearly seven hundred German Catholics of Evansville remonstrated against the passage of the Immigration Bill. But they did so under a misapprehension. One of the men most prominent in the remonstrance said, Tuesday, that had he known the educational qualification did not require the ability to read and write English he would not have signed the remonstrance. Neither would a single society in Evansville have taken the action they all did."

Western Settlers Not Excluded.

(7.) "*Hundreds of miles of virgin soil which has no equal for fertility, inexhaustible mines, endless primeval forests, wait for the settling pioneer.*"

This statement is misleading.

The sturdy and valuable citizens who have settled and built up the Western States and who are developing the agricultural regions of the Northwest came

largely from the races of Northern Europe and Great Britain and Ireland. This bill would hardly affect them. Immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe do *not* go West.

Thus immigrants from Germany, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, France, Great Britain, Ireland, and Finland had in 1901 an average illiteracy of only 5.6 per cent. In other words, nearly 95 per cent. of immigration from these countries would come in under an absolutely rigid educational test bill. Of a total immigration in 1901 from these countries of 164,792, less than 8,000 would have been excluded under such a bill. Note, however, the important exceptions in the proposed bill of the League.

Only the Undesirable Excluded.

The immigrants from Asiatic Turkey, Russia, Austria-Hungary, South Italy, Portugal, Greece, etc., on the other hand, had in 1901 an average illiteracy of over 46 per cent. In 1869 these countries furnished almost no immigration, and in 1880 less than one-tenth of the total. To-day they furnish more than one-half.

These do not go West and are not wanted There.

Of the Russians, Poles, and Italians, three-fifths live in the large cities of the East, while the census of 1890 shows that of the Poles, Hungarians, and Russians, there are in the southern States or western division altogether less than thirty thousand in a population of twenty-three million.

The reports of the Department of Labor show that the immigration from southeastern Europe, which has increased so much in recent years, does not go West, but contributes largely to the slums of the large cities on the Atlantic seaboard, and contributes the largest proportion to the criminal and dependent classes therein.

In other words, a claim such as is made by the steamship company cited later, that the educational test bill "will deprive the West of agricultural immigration . . . whether illiterate or not," is false. It is obviously urged to excite opposition to the immigration bill in those sections which do not feel the burden upon the penal and charitable institutions of the East, caused by the recent inferior immigration out of which the foreign steamship companies make their profit at the cost of imposing a tremendous burden upon the American people.

The State Immigration Associations of Minnesota, South Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Washington, and other States, organizations formed for the purpose of *promoting* immigration into those States, have all been in favor of the illiteracy test for immigrants. In 1895 the governors of these States were asked by a special commission of the Treasury Department what immigrants they desired. There was only one call for immigrants from southern or eastern Europe, viz., for Italian farmers with money, intending permanent settlement.

Attack on President Roosevelt.

(8.) "*President Roosevelt himself is no friend of hyphenated Americans.*"

Does any one believe this statement to be true?

The following is what the President said in his annual message to Congress in 1901 :

"Our present immigration laws are unsatisfactory. We need every honest and efficient immigrant fitted to become an American citizen, every immigrant who comes here to stay, who brings here a strong body, a stout heart, a good head, and a resolute purpose to do his duty well in every way and to bring up his children as law-abiding and God-fearing members of the community. But there should be a comprehensive law enacted with the object of working a threefold improvement over our present system. First, we should aim to exclude absolutely not only all persons who are known to be believers in anarchistic principles or members of anarchistic societies, but also all persons who are of a low moral tendency or of unsavory reputation. This means that we should require a more thorough system of inspection abroad and a more rigid system of examination at our immigration ports, the former being especially necessary.

"*The second object of a proper immigration law ought to be to secure by a careful and not merely perfunctory educational test some intelligent capacity to appreciate American institutions and act sanely as American citizens.* This would not keep out all anarchists, for many of them belong to the intelligent criminal class. But it would do what is also in point; that is, tend to decrease the sum of ignorance, so potent in producing the envy, suspicion, malignant passion, and hatred of order, out of which anarchistic sentiment inevitably springs. Finally, all persons should be excluded who are below a certain standard of economic fitness to enter our industrial field as competitors with American labor. There should be proper proof of personal capacity to earn an American living and enough money to insure a decent start under American conditions. This would stop the influx of cheap labor and the resulting competition which gives rise to so much of bitterness in American industrial life, and it would dry up the springs of the pestilential social conditions in our great cities, where anarchistic organizations have their greatest possibility of growth.

"Both the educational and economic tests in a wise immigration law should be designed to protect and elevate the general body politic and social. A very close supervision should be exercised over the steamship companies which mainly bring over the immigrants, and they should be held to a strict accountability for any infraction of the law."

When he said this, was not the President stating what he believed would be for the welfare of all the citizens of this United States, whether German-Americans, Irish-Americans, Russo-Americans, Italian-Americans? What is for the welfare of the country is for the welfare of every citizen, of whatever birth or descent he may be.

German Opposition Often Incited by Steamship Agents.

The "Chicago Tribune" of Jan. 21, 1897, printed an interview with Senator Fairbanks, in which he said :

"I received and am still receiving protests from various societies in Indiana. One of them was from a German organization in Jeffersonville. I took the trouble to investigate this and found it had been directly instigated by a steamship agent, and that the members of the German Aid Society, who ostensibly protested, were led to believe that it was a general restriction of immigration and not merely an attempt to keep out illiterates, which these very men who protested heartily approved of."

In the Congressional Record, May 19, 1896, p. 5939, appears a speech of Hon. William A. Store, Representative in Congress from Pennsylvania (who was at that time advocating a bill for the restriction of immigration), in which he said :

"I have tried very hard to ascertain whether there was any real opposition to this measure among the Germans, inasmuch as it has been charged that there was. I have a large number of German-Americans in my district. There are some newspapers there published in German that have opposed this bill, one in particular, the proprietor of which — the man who furnishes the money to operate it — is and has been for many years a steamship agent, selling tickets to persons who wish to go to Europe and to the friends of those who wish to come here from Europe. I received a telegram from him dated May 7, to which I replied. His telegram and my reply were published not only in his paper but in nearly all the principal papers of Pennsylvania. And from the time of that publication not one person has ever written to me or telegraphed me or in any manner to my knowledge raised any objection to the restriction of immigration — certainly not one German."

Mr. Stone's letter to the "Volksblatt" contained the following :

"I can well understand how one of the proprietors of the 'Volksblatt,' as agent for several steamship companies engaged in the business of bringing immigrants into this country, is opposed to restricting immigration, and I can see how, through the columns of the 'Volksblatt' and other papers similarly interested, many honest Germans are led to oppose the restriction of immigration, but I do not believe that the majority of the intelligent German-Americans of this country desire to see the shipping of such large numbers of undesirable immigrants into this country continue. The Germans are a frugal, saving, hard-working class, and make good American citizens. The immigrant pauper laborer from southern Europe enters into direct competition with the German laborer as well as others here, and gluts the labor market. This is what keeps the price of common labor down and puts it at the mercy of capital.

"I, with many others who have been working to restrict immigration, am of German descent, and have a common right to speak for the German-Americans. Those engaged in the business of bringing cheap labor into this country shrewdly think that if they array the German-Americans against the movement to restrict immigration they will so frighten the two great parties in this country that they will not dare to pass a restrictive law."

Foreign Steamship Agitation.

The following is a copy of a telegram which was sent on Jan. 26, 1897, by H. C. Claussenius & Co., general western agents for the North German Lloyd Steamship Company in Chicago, to F. W. A. Poppe, Milbank, S. Dak. :

Immigration bill comes up in the House Wednesday ; wire your Congressman, *our expense*, protesting against proposed exclusion and requesting bill be defeated, informing him that vote in favor means defeat next election. (Signed) H. CLAUSSENIUS & CO.

At that time the Lodge bill for the restriction of immigration by means of an educational test was pending in the 54th Congress. Mr. Claussenius stated in an interview in the "Chicago Times-Herald," Jan. 28, 1897, that "we sent similar messages to more than two hundred men. They are agents of the North German Lloyd, who have been appointed to this office, but many of them doubtless represent other lines as well. The immigration bill menaces our business and the business of these agents. It also threatens to end emigration to the western States. We believe we have a legitimate right to use our influence to defeat a measure which may cause such widespread injury, and we acted on the assumption that the men we wired felt the same."

The following letter was sent by the same firm to the steamship agents :

CHICAGO, Jan. 25, 1897.

To Agents :

The immigration bill, which is intended to materially restrict immigration, comes up for final disposition in the House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., on Wednesday, 27th instant.

It is quite clear that immigration will really be restricted almost to the extent of total exclusion of immigrants should the bill become a law, and every effort should therefore be made to insure the defeat of the bill.

You are directly interested in the defeat of the bill as much as we are, and we would respectfully ask you to wire your Representative in Congress immediately upon receipt of this to vote against the bill, informing him that the measure virtually means exclusion, and that his vote in favor of same will mean repudiation by his constituents, and his defeat at the next election.

Trusting that you will not fail to give the matter your prompt attention, we are

Yours respectfully,
H. CLAUSSENIUS & CO.

With this letter was sent the following slip :

"Wire your Representative fully, and let us know cost of telegram, and we will promptly refund amount to you."

Mr. Claussenius subsequently said in a formal statement: "Our principal objection to the bill is that it would deprive the West of agricultural immigrants which the country is sadly in need of, whether they are illiterate or not."

Mr. Lodge said, without contradiction, in the Senate on Feb. 2, 1897, in speaking of these letters and telegrams:

"To every newspaper in which they have an advertisement they sent another telegram, and the hand of that company has been felt in this business ever since it looked as if the bill would get upon the statute book. You can see it to-day in the newspapers."

Steamship Agents' Statements Misleading.

The above statements by the steamship companies were based on the same misunderstandings of the bill or were given with the same intent to mislead the public and especially the Germans as in the case of the German circular printed at the beginning of this pamphlet.

The statement that "*immigration will really be restricted almost to the extent of total exclusion of immigrants should the bill become a law*" was and is false. See paragraphs (2) and (3) of this pamphlet.

The statement that "*it threatens to end emigration to the Western States*" was and is false. See paragraph (7).

For publications and membership in the Immigration Restriction League, address Prescott F. Hall, Secretary and Treasurer, Fiske Building, Boston. The dues for membership are as follows: For *annual* membership, one dollar, payable in advance upon admission and upon January 1st of each year; for *life* membership, ten dollars, payable upon admission, life members being exempt from annual dues.

The League is a strictly non-partisan and non-sectarian organization, with members from all parts of the United States. It advocates a stricter regulation of immigration, but not the exclusion of any immigrants whose character and standards fit them to become citizens.

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PUBLICATIONS OF THE IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION LEAGUE, No. 33.

RESTRICTION OF IMMIGRATION

BY

FRANCIS A. WALKER, PH.D., LL.D.

Reprinted from the author's "Discussions in Economics and Statistics"

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Immigration Restriction League
Mar. 15, 1902

RESTRICTION OF IMMIGRATION.

WHEN we speak of the restriction of immigration, at the present time, we have not in mind measures undertaken for the purpose of straining out, from the vast throngs of foreigners arriving at our ports, a few hundreds, or possibly thousands of persons, deaf, dumb, blind, idiotic, insane, pauper, or criminal who might otherwise become a hopeless burden upon the country, perhaps even an active source of mischief. The propriety, and even the necessity, of adopting such measures is now conceded by men of all shades of opinion concerning the larger subject. There is even noticeable a rather severe public feeling regarding the admission of persons of any of the classes named above ; perhaps one might say, a certain resentment at the attempt of such persons to impose themselves upon us. We already have laws which cover a considerable part of this ground ; and so far as further legislation is needed, it will only be necessary for the proper executive department of the government to call the attention of Congress to the subject. There is a serious effort on the part of our immigration officers to enforce the regulations prescribed, though when it is said that more than five thousand persons have passed through the gates at Ellis Island, in New York harbor, during the course of a single day, it will be seen that no very careful scrutiny is practicable.

It is true that in the past there has been gross and scandalous neglect of this matter on the part both of government and people, here in the United States. For nearly two generations, great numbers of persons utterly unable to earn their living, by reason of one or another form of physical or mental disability, and others who were, from widely different causes, unfit to be members of any decent community, were admitted to our ports without challenge or question. It is a matter

of official record that in many cases these persons had been directly shipped to us by states or municipalities desiring to rid themselves of a burden and a nuisance ; while it could reasonably be believed that the proportion of such instances was far greater than could be officially ascertained. But all this is of the past. The question of the restriction of immigration to-day does not deal with that phase of the subject. What is proposed is, not to keep out some hundreds, or possibly thousands, of persons, against whom lie specific objections like those above indicated, but to exclude perhaps hundreds of thousands, the great majority of whom would be subject to no individual objections ; who, on the contrary, might fairly be expected to earn their living here in this new country, at least up to the standard known to them at home, and probably much more. The question to-day is, not of preventing the wards of our almshouses, our insane asylums, and our jails from being stuffed to repletion by new arrivals from Europe ; but of protecting the American rate of wages, the American standard of living, and the quality of American citizenship from degradation through the tumultuous access of vast throngs of ignorant and brutalized peasantry from the countries of eastern and southern Europe.

The first thing to be said respecting any serious proposition importantly to restrict immigration into the United States is, that such a proposition necessarily and properly encounters a high degree of incredulity, arising from the traditions of our country. From the beginning, it has been the policy of the United States, both officially and according to the prevailing sentiment of our people, to tolerate, to welcome, and to encourage immigration, without qualification, and without discrimination. For generations it was the settled opinion of our people, which found no challenge anywhere, that immigration was a source of both strength and wealth. Not only was it thought unnecessary carefully to scrutinize foreign arrivals at our ports, but the figures of any exceptionally large immigration were greeted with noisy gratulation.* In those days the American people did not doubt that they derived a great advantage from this source.

* See Note 1, page 450.

It is, therefore, natural to ask, Is it possible that our fathers and our grandfathers were so far wrong in this matter? Is it not, the rather, probable that the present anxiety and apprehension on the subject are due to transient causes or to distinctly false opinions, prejudicing the public mind? The challenge which current proposals for the restriction of immigration thus encounter is a perfectly legitimate one, and creates a presumption which their advocates are bound to deal with. Is it, however, necessarily true that if our fathers and grandfathers were right in their view of immigration in their own time, those who advocate the restriction of immigration to-day must be in the wrong? Does it not sometimes happen, in the course of national development, that great and permanent changes in condition require corresponding changes of opinion and of policy?

We shall best answer this question by referring to an instance in an altogether different department of public interest and activity. For nearly a hundred years after the peace of 1783 opened to settlement the lands beyond the Alleghanies, the cutting away of the primeval forest was regarded by our people not only with toleration, but with the highest approval. No physical instrument could have been chosen which was so fairly entitled to be called the emblem of American civilization as the Axe of the Pioneer. As the forests of the Ohio valley bowed themselves before the unstaying enterprise of the adventurous settlers of that region, all good citizens rejoiced. There are few chapters of human history which recount a grander story of human achievement. Yet to-day all intelligent men admit that the cutting down of our forests, the destruction of the tree-covering of our soil, has already gone too far; and both individual States and the nation have united in efforts to undo some of the mischief which has been wrought to our agriculture and to our climate from carrying too far the work of denudation. In precisely the same way, it may be true that our fathers were right in their view of immigration; while yet the patriotic American of to-day may properly shrink in terror from the contemplation of the vast hordes of ignorant and brutalized peasantry thronging to our shores.

Before inquiring as to general changes in our national condition which may justify a change of opinion and policy in this respect, let us deal briefly, as we must, with two opinions regarding the immigration of the past, which stand in the way of any fair consideration of the subject. These two opinions were, first, that immigration constituted a net re-enforcement of our population ; secondly, that, in addition to this, or irrespective of this, immigration was necessary, in order to supply the laborers who should do certain kinds of work, imperatively demanded for the building up of our industrial and social structure, which natives of the soil were unwilling to undertake.

The former of these opinions was, so far as I am aware, held with absolute unanimity by our people ; yet no popular belief was ever more unfounded. Space would not serve for the full statistical demonstration of the proposition that immigration, during the period from 1830 to 1860, instead of constituting a net re-enforcement to the population, simply resulted in a replacement of native by foreign elements ; but I believe it would be practicable to prove this to the satisfaction of every fair-minded man. Let it suffice to state a few matters which are beyond controversy.

The population of 1790 was almost wholly a native and wholly an acclimated population, and for forty years afterwards immigration remained at so low a rate as to be practically of no account ; yet the people of the United States increased in numbers more rapidly than has ever elsewhere been known, in regard to any considerable population, over any considerable area, through any considerable period of time. Between 1790 and 1830 the nation grew from less than 4,000,000 to nearly 13,000,000,—an increase, in fact, of 227 per cent, a rate unparalleled in history. That increase was wholly out of the loins of our own people. Each decade had seen a growth of between 33 and 38 per cent, a doubling once in twenty-two or twenty-three years. During the thirty years which followed 1830, the conditions of life and reproduction in the United States were not less, but more, favorable than in the preceding period. Important changes relating to the practice of medicine, the food and clothing of

people, the general habits of living, took place, which were of a nature to increase the vitality and reproductive capability of the American people. Throughout this period, the standard of height, of weight, and of chest measurement was steadily rising, with the result that, of the men of all nationalities in the giant army formed to suppress the slaveholders' rebellion, the native American bore off the palm in respect to physical stature. The decline of this rate of increase among Americans began at the very time when foreign immigration first assumed considerable proportions; it showed itself first and in the highest degree in those regions, in those States, and in the very counties into which the foreigners most largely entered. It proceeded for a long time in such a way as absolutely to offset the foreign arrivals, so that in 1850, in spite of the incoming of two and a half millions of foreigners during thirty years, our population differed by less than ten thousand from the population which would have existed, according to the previous rate of increase, without re-enforcement from abroad. These three facts, which might be shown by tables and diagrams, constitute a statistical demonstration such as is rarely attained in regard to the operation of any social or economic force.

But it may be asked, Is the proposition that the arrival of foreigners brought a check to the native increase a reasonable one? Is the cause thus suggested one which has elsewhere appeared as competent to produce such an effect? I answer, Yes. All human history shows that the principle of population is intensely sensitive to social and economic changes. Let social and economic conditions remain as they were, and population will go on increasing from year to year, and from decade to decade, with a regularity little short of the marvellous. Let social and economic conditions change, and population instantly responds. The arrival in the United States, between 1830 and 1840, and thereafter increasingly, of large numbers of degraded peasantry, created for the first time in this country distinct social classes, and produced an alteration of economic relations which could not fail powerfully to affect population. The appearance of vast numbers of men, foreign in birth and often in language, with a poorer standard

of living, with habits repellent to our native people, of an industrial grade suited only to the lowest kind of manual labor, was exactly such a cause as by any student of population would be expected to affect profoundly the growth of the native population. Americans shrank alike from the social contact and the economic competition thus created. They became increasingly unwilling to bring forth sons and daughters who should be obliged to compete in the market for labor and in the walks of life with those whom they did not recognize as of their own grade and condition. It has been said by some that during this time habits of luxury were entering, to reduce both the disposition and the ability to increase among our own population. In some small degree, in some restricted localities, this undoubtedly was the case; but prior to 1860 there was no such general growth of luxury in the United States as is competent to account for the effect seen. Indeed, I believe this was almost wholly due to the cause which has been indicated,—a cause recognized by every student of statistics and economics.

The second opinion regarding the immigration of the past, with which it seems well to deal before proceeding to the positive argument of the case, is that, whether desirable on other accounts or not, foreign immigration prior to 1860 was necessary in order to supply the country with a laboring class which should be able and willing to perform the lowest kind of work required in the upbuilding of our industrial and social structure, especially the making of railroads and canals. The opinion which has been cited constitutes, perhaps, the best example known to me of that putting the cart before the horse which is so commonly seen in sociological inquiry. When was it that native Americans first refused to do the lowest kinds of manual labor? I answer, When the foreigner came. Did the foreigner come because the native American refused longer to perform any kind of manual labor? No; the American refused because the foreigner came. Through all our early history, Americans, from Governor Winthrop, through Jonathan Edwards, to Ralph Waldo Emerson, had done every sort of work which was required for the comfort of their families and for the upbuilding of the state, and had

not been ashamed. They called nothing common or unclean, which needed to be done for their own good or for the good of all. But when the country was flooded with ignorant and unskilled foreigners, who could do nothing but the lowest kind of labor, Americans instinctively shrank from the contact and the competition thus offered to them. So long as manual labor, in whatever field, was to be done by all, each in his place, there was no revolt at it ; but when working on railroads and canals became the sign of a want of education and of a low social condition, our own people gave it up, and left it to those who were able to do that, and nothing better.

We have of late had a very curious demonstration of the entire fallacy of the popular mode of reasoning on this subject, due to the arrival of a still lower laboring class. Within a few years, *Harper's Weekly* had an article in which the editor, after admitting that the Italians who have recently come in such vast numbers to our shores do not constitute a desirable element of the population, either socially or politically, yet claimed that it was a highly providential arrangement, since the Irish, who formerly did all the work of the country in the way of ditching and trenching, were now standing aside. We have only to meet the argument thus in its second generation, so to speak, to see the complete fallacy of such reasoning. Does the Italian come because the Irishman refuses to work in ditches and trenches, in gangs ; or has the Irishman taken this position because the Italian has come ? The latter is undoubtedly the truth ; and if the administrators of Baron Hirsch's estate send to us 2,000,000 of Russian Jews, we shall soon find the Italians standing on their dignity, and deeming themselves too good to work on streets and sewers and railroads. But meanwhile, what of the Republic ? what of the American standard of living ? what of the American rate of wages ?

All that sort of reasoning about the necessity of having a mean kind of man to do a mean kind of work is greatly to be suspected. It is not possible to ^{have} a man who is too good to do any kind of work which the ^{welfare} of his family and of the community requires to be ^{done} ~~done~~. So long as we were left to increase out of the loins of our people, such a senti-

our people

ment as that we are now commenting upon made no appearance in American life. It is much to be doubted whether any material growth which is to be secured only by the degradation of our citizenship is a national gain, even from the most materialistic point of view.

Let us now inquire what are the changes in our general conditions which seem to demand a revision of the opinion and policy heretofore held regarding immigration.* Three of these are subjective, affecting our capability of easily and safely taking care of a large and tumultuous access of foreigners : the fourth is objective, and concerns the character of the immigration now directed upon our shores. Time will serve for only a rapid characterization.

First, we have the important fact of the complete exhaustion of the free public lands of the United States. Fifty years ago, thirty years ago, vast tracts of arable land were open to every person arriving on our shores, under the Pre-emption Act, or later, the Homestead Act. A good farm of one hundred and sixty acres could be had at the minimum price of \$1.25 an acre, or for merely the fees of registration. Under these circumstances it was a very simple matter to dispose of a large immigration. To-day there is not a good farm within the limits of the United States which is to be had under either of these acts. The wild and tumultuous scenes which attended the opening to settlement of the Territory of Oklahoma, a few years ago, and, a little later, of the so-called Cherokee Strip, testify eloquently to the vast change in our national conditions in this respect. This is not to say that more people cannot and will not, sooner or later, with more or less of care and pains and effort, be placed upon the land of the United States; but it does of itself alone show how vastly the difficulty of providing for immigration has increased. The immigrant must now buy his farm from a second hand, and he must pay the price which the value of the land for agricultural purposes determines. In the case of ninety-five out of a hundred immigrants, this necessity puts an immediate occupation of the soil out of the question.

* See Note 2, page 450.

A second change in our national condition, which importantly affects our capability of taking care of large numbers of ignorant and unskilled foreigners, is the fall of agricultural prices which has gone on steadily since 1873. It is not of the slightest consequence to inquire into the causes of this fall, whether we refer it to the competition of Argentina and of India or to the appreciation of gold. We are interested only in the fact. There has been a great reduction in the cost of producing crops in some favored regions where steam-ploughs and steam-reaping, steam-threshing, and steam-sacking machines, can be employed ; but there has been no reduction in the cost of producing crops upon the ordinary American farm at all corresponding to the reduction in the price of the produce. It is a necessary consequence of this, that the ability to employ a large number of uneducated and unskilled hands in agriculture has greatly diminished.

Still a third cause which may be indicated, perhaps more important than either of those thus far mentioned, is found in the fact that we have now a labor problem. We in the United States have been wont to pride ourselves greatly upon our so easily maintaining peace and keeping the social order unimpaired. We have, partly from a reasonable patriotic pride, partly also from something like Phariseeism, been much given to pointing at our European cousins, and boasting superiority over them in this respect. Our self-gratulation has been largely due to overlooking social differences between us and them. That boasted superiority has been owing mainly, not to our institutions, but to our more favorable conditions. There is no country of Europe which has not for a long time had a labor problem ; that is, which has not so largely exploited its own natural resources, and which has not a labor supply so nearly meeting the demands of the market at their fullest, that hard times and periods of industrial depression have brought a serious strain through extensive non-employment of labor. From this evil condition we have, until recently, happily been free. During the last few years, however, we have ourselves come under the shadow of this evil, in spite of our magnificent natural resources. We know what it is to have even intelligent and

skilled labor unemployed through considerable periods of time. This change of conditions is likely to bring some abatement to our national pride. No longer is it a matter of course that every industrious and temperate man can find work in the United States. And it is to be remembered that, of all nations, we are the one which is least qualified to deal with a labor problem. We have not the machinery, we have not the army, we have not the police, we have not the traditions and instincts, for dealing with such a matter, as the great railroad and other strikes of the last few years have shown.

I have spoken of three changes in the national condition, all subjective, which greatly affect our capability of dealing with a large and tumultuous immigration. There is a fourth, which is objective. It concerns the character of the foreigners now resorting to our shores. Fifty, even thirty, years ago, there was a rightful presumption regarding the average immigrant that he was among the most enterprising, thrifty, alert, adventurous, and courageous, of the community from which he came.* It required no small energy, prudence, forethought, and pains to conduct the inquiries relating to his migration, to accumulate the necessary means, and to find his way across the Atlantic. To-day the presumption is completely reversed. So thoroughly has the Continent of Europe been crossed by railways, so effectively has the business of emigration there been exploited, so much have the rates of railroad fares and ocean passage been reduced, that it is now among the least thrifty and prosperous members of any European community that the emigration agent finds his best recruiting-ground. The care and pains required have been reduced to a minimum; while the agent of the Red Star Line or the White Star Line is everywhere at hand, to suggest migration to those who are not getting on well at home. The intending emigrants are looked after from the moment they are locked into the cars in their native village until they stretch themselves upon the floors of the buildings on Ellis Island, in New York. Illustrations of the ease and facility with which this Pipe Line Immigration is now carried on

* See Note 3, page 451.

might be given in profusion. So broad and smooth is the channel, there is no reason why every foul and stagnant pool of population in Europe, which no breath of intellectual or industrial life has stirred for ages, should not be decanted upon our soil. Hard times here may momentarily check the flow; but it will not be permanently stopped so long as *any difference of economic level* exists between our population and that of the most degraded communities abroad.

But it is not alone that the presumption regarding the immigrant of to-day is so widely different from that which existed regarding the immigrant of thirty or fifty years ago. The immigrant of the former time came almost exclusively from western or northern Europe. We have now tapped great reservoirs of population then almost unknown to the passenger lists of our arriving vessels. Only a short time ago, the immigrants from southern Italy, Hungary, Austria, and Russia together made up hardly more than one per cent of our immigration. To-day the proportion has risen to something like forty per cent, and threatens soon to become fifty or sixty per cent, or even more. The entrance into our political, social, and industrial life, of such vast masses of peasantry, degraded below our utmost conceptions, is a matter which no intelligent patriot can look upon without the gravest apprehension and alarm. These people have no history behind them which is of a nature to give encouragement. They have none of the inherited instincts and tendencies which made it comparatively easy to deal with the immigration of the olden time. They are beaten men from beaten races; representing the worst failures in the struggle for existence. Centuries are against them, as centuries were on the side of those who formerly came to us. They have none of the ideas and aptitudes which fit men to take up readily and easily the problem of self-care and self-government, such as belong to those who are descended from the tribes that met under the oak-trees of old Germany to make laws and choose chieftains.

Their habits of life, again, are of the most revolting kind. Read the description given by Mr. Riis, of the police driving from the garbage dumps the miserable beings who try to

burrow in those depths of unutterable filth and slime in order that they may eat and sleep there ! Was it in cement like this that the foundations of our republic were laid ? What effects must be produced upon our social standards, and upon the ambitions and aspirations of our people, by a contact so foul and loathsome ? The influence upon the American rate of wages of a competition like this cannot fail to be injurious and even disastrous. Already it has been seriously felt in the tobacco manufacture, in the clothing trade, and in many forms of mining industry ; and unless this access of vast numbers of unskilled workmen of the lowest type, in a market already fully supplied with labor, shall be checked, it cannot fail to go on from bad to worse, in breaking down the standard which has been maintained with so much care and at so much cost. The competition of paupers is far more telling and more killing than the competition of pauper-made goods. Degraded labor in the slums of foreign cities may be prejudicial to intelligent, ambitious, self-respecting labor here ; but it does not threaten half so much evil as does degraded labor in the garrets of our native cities.

Finally, the present situation is most menacing to our peace and political safety. In all the social and industrial disorders of this country since 1877, the foreign elements have proved themselves the ready tools of demagogues in defying the law, in destroying property, and in working violence. A learned clergyman who mingled with the socialistic mob which, two years ago, threatened the State House and the governor of Massachusetts, told me that during the entire disturbance he heard no word spoken in any language which he knew,—either in English, in German, or in French. There may be those who can contemplate the addition to our population of vast numbers of persons having no inherited instincts of self-government and respect for law ; knowing no restraint upon their own passions but the club of the policeman or the bayonet of the soldier ; forming communities, by the tens of thousands, in which only foreign tongues are spoken, and into which can steal no influence from our free institutions and from popular discussion. But I confess to being far less optimistic. I have conversed with one of the highest officers

of the United States army and with one of the highest officers of the civil government regarding the state of affairs which existed during the summer of 1894; and the revelations they made of facts not generally known, going to show how the ship of state grazed along its whole side upon the rocks, were enough to appall the most sanguine American, the most hearty believer in free government. Have we the right to expose the republic to any increase of the dangers from this source which now so manifestly threaten our peace and safety?

For it is never to be forgotten that self-defence is the first law of nature and of nations. If that man who careth not for his own household is worse than an infidel, the nation which permits its institutions to be endangered by any cause which can fairly be removed is guilty, not less in Christian than in natural law. Charity begins at home; and while the people of the United States have gladly offered an asylum to millions upon millions of the distressed and unfortunate of other lands and climes, they have no right to carry their hospitality one step beyond the line where American institutions, the American rate of wages, the American standard of living, are brought into serious peril. All the good the United States could do by offering indiscriminate hospitality to a few millions more of European peasants, whose places at home will, within another generation, be filled by others as miserable as themselves, would not compensate for any permanent injury done to our republic. Our highest duty to charity and to humanity is to make this great experiment, here, of free laws and educated labor, the most triumphant success that can possibly be attained. In this way we shall do far more for Europe than by allowing its city slums and its vast stagnant reservoirs of degraded peasantry to be drained off upon our soil. Within the decade between 1880 and 1890 five and a quarter millions of foreigners entered our ports! No nation in human history ever undertook to deal with such masses of alien population. That man must be a sentimentalist and an optimist beyond all bounds of reason who believes that we can take such a load upon the national stomach without a failure of assimilation, and with-

out great danger to the health and life of the nation. For one, I believe it is time that we should take a rest, and give our social, political, and industrial system some chance to recuperate. The problems which so sternly confront us to-day are serious enough, without being complicated and aggravated by the addition of some millions of Hungarians, Bohemians, Poles, south Italians, and Russian Jews.

1. My subject, this evening, is Restriction of Immigration. That such a subject should be taken for discussion before a company of Americans is proof that a very considerable change has of late come over the public mind. Can one conceive a company like this gathered twenty years ago, to listen to a paper in favor of restricted immigration? Why, it was about that time, as I remember it, that a number of gentlemen interested in the American Social Science Association, were at pains to collect a large body of formal statistics and of more general statements relating to the industries and resources of different parts of the United States, and to compile these into a handbook for intending immigrants, to guide them in their choice of homes within our territory. Nor was the handbook in question designed solely, or chiefly, to aid those who had already made up their minds to seek larger opportunities in the New World. The work was professedly undertaken for the purpose of *inducing* immigration. To this end it was translated into several European languages, and our Department of State assisted in its distribution, through American consuls and ministers abroad. Probably not a member of the American Social Science Association at that time entertained a doubt of the desirability of promoting the movement of population to this country.

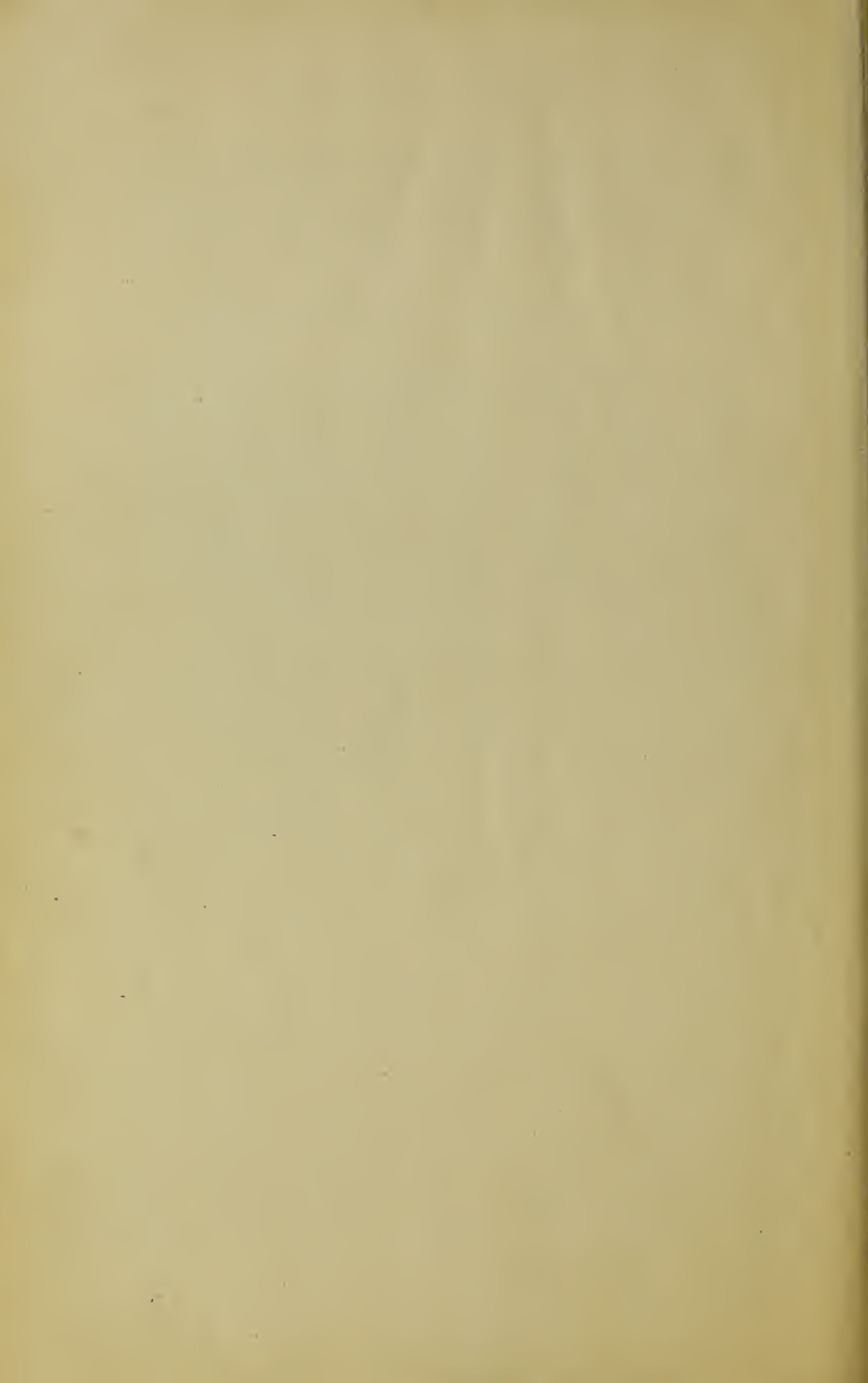
Even longer ago, the sentiment in behalf of immigration was even stronger, still. From early times, our people had looked upon immigration as one of the chief sources of our strength and prosperity. Boundless—it seemed so—agricultural and mineral wealth was spread all around; and the help of every newcomer was welcome in the work of gathering it up. The more came, the more there would be, for each and for all. Great and grave political problems confronted the new nation, and our fathers felt that they would be stronger, whether against domestic sedition or against a foreign foe, the more rapidly the outlines of the country were filled with population.—From Lecture delivered in New York, 1892.

2. As early as 1892, in an article in the *Yale Review*, vol. 1, p. 129, Mr. Walker wrote:

For myself, strongly as I feel the evils of the existing situation, I have little hope of their early correction by law. On one or two occasions, when I have been called to speak in public upon this theme, I have seen how much more taking is the appeal to sentiment than the address to reason, in this matter; how great is the controversial advan-

tage of him who speaks in favor of the complete freedom of entrance which has characterized our career thus far; how strong is the instinctive dislike of an American audience for any scheme of restriction or exclusion, in the face of the clearest considerations of expediency and even of national safety. Of this I make no complaint. I would not have it otherwise. It is natural and right that the sentiment of fraternity and hospitality should assert itself vigorously against any proposed departure from our traditional policy, and should only yield to clear, sound, strong reasons; reasons which make that departure highly desirable, almost to the point of absolute necessity.

3. Take the Irish, for example. The conditions under which they had been born and brought up were generally of the most squalid and degrading character. Their wretched hovels, thatched with rotting straw, scantily furnished with light, hardly ventilated at all, frequently with no floor but the clay on which they were built, were crowded beyond the bounds of comfort, health, or, as it would seem to us, of simple social decency; their beds were heaps of straw or rags; their food consisted mainly of buttermilk and potatoes, often of the worst, and commonly inadequate in amount; their clothing was scanty and shabby. Yet a few years later, and the children, born and reared in hovels like these, were found in America, demanding and achieving a scale of living not greatly below that of our own native people of the manual-laboring class; working hard and long, that they might attain the desired comforts and decencies. They proved, indeed, in general, less exacting as concerned the externals of their houses, and even as concerned light and air within; but they yielded to none in the matter of the abundance and quality of the food they exacted, or in their disposition to dress their wives and daughters comfortably and decently for church and school, and to lay by provision for future wants and necessities. With a spirit like this animating our new citizens, the painful and shameful deficiencies of early life and breeding were soon made up, at least to a great degree. Some temporary impairment there was of the general standard of social decency in the communities in which they placed themselves; some immediate political disadvantages were suffered by the republic through the access of so many persons not born on our soil, taught in our schools, or trained under our laws; and, as I have before intimated, some, and no inconsiderable, shock was administered to the principle of population among the native people. But, on the whole, the republic bore itself nobly under this tremendous, this unprecedented strain; while, on their part, the newcomers rose, with marvelous energy and ambition, towards, if not to, the height of the opportunities offered them in their new homes.—*Yale Review*, vol. 1 (1892), p. 131.



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FROM THE LAND OFFICE

TO THE COMMISSIONER OF THE GENERAL LAND OFFICE

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WHENCE OUR IMMIGRANTS COME, AND WHERE THEY GO.

Census Figures of 1890 and 1900.

Foreign-Born in the United States.

The total foreign-born population of the United States in 1890, excluding Alaska, was 9,249,547. In 1900, excluding Alaska and Hawaii, it was 10,356,644. Since, however, the children of immigrants, born in this country, are counted among the native born, the proportion of the foreign-born to the whole population diminished slightly during the decade. It was 14.77 per cent. in 1890 and 13.74 per cent. in 1900.

The following table shows the composition of this foreign-born population, according to nativity, and the proportions of the several nationalities, both in 1890 and in 1900. So far as a classification of nationalities has been attempted, that of the census of 1890 has been followed. The Scandinavian nations include Norway, Sweden, and Denmark; the Slav nations, Russia, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, and Finland. Natives of Finland are returned separately in the census of 1900, but seem to have been included among natives of Russia in that of 1890.

Foreign-born in the United States, 1890 and 1900, by Birthplaces.

	1890.		1900.	
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
North and South America .	1,088,245	11.76	1,318,913	12.73
Great Britain and Ireland .	3,122,911	33.76	2,788,304	26.92
Germany	2,784,894	30.11	2,666,990	25.75
Scandinavian nations . .	933,249	10.09	1,064,309	10.28
Slav nations	510,625	5.52	1,173,210	11.33
Italy	182,580	1.98	484,207	4.67
Asiatic nations	113,383	1.23	120,862	1.17
All others	513,660	5.55	739,849	7.15
Total	9,249,547	100.00	10,356,644	100.00

The following table gives the increase and the decrease, from 1890 to 1900, of persons in the United States, born in certain countries and groups of countries; the increase of the natives of the several countries and groups of countries, per centum of the number found in the United States in 1890; and the proportion which the increase of the natives of each country or group of countries bears to the aggregate increase of foreign-born persons in the United States.

Increase of Foreign-born, by Birthplaces, 1890 to 1900.

	Number.	Per cent. of number found in 1890.	Per cent. of aggregate increase of foreign-born.
North and South America	230,668	21.2	20.8
Great Britain and Ireland	(a) 334,607	(a) 10.7	(a) 30.2
Germany	(a) 117,904	(a) 4.2	(a) 10.6
Scandinavian nations	131,060	14.0	11.8
Slav nations	662,585	129.8	59.8
Italy	301,627	165.2	27.2
Asiatic nations	7,479	6.6	0.7
All others	226,189	44.0	20.4
Total increase, excluding United Kingdom and Germany	1,559,608		
Decrease, United Kingdom and Germany	452,511		
Net increase	1,107,097		

Note: that the natives of Slavic countries increased 130 per cent., and the natives of Italy 165 per cent., while the natives of Scandinavian countries increased 14 per cent., the natives of Germany actually diminished 4 per cent., and the natives of the United Kingdom diminished over 10 per cent.

Note: that the increase of Italians amounted to more than a quarter of the aggregate increase of the foreign-born, and the increase of natives of Slavic countries amounted to 60 per cent. of the aggregate; while there was a decrease of natives of Germany to the extent of 10 per cent. of the aggregate increase of the foreign-born, and a decrease of natives of the United Kingdom to the extent of 30 per cent. of the aggregate increase of the foreign-born.

Note: that the increasing influx of low-wage workers — “cheap labor” — from Italy and the Slavic countries is accompanied with a falling off of the higher-grade workers from Germany and the United Kingdom. The superior decline to face the competition of the inferior.

Distribution of Foreign-born.

If persons at military stations abroad, not credited to any particular State, are excluded from consideration, as well as those in Alaska and Hawaii, the increase of foreign-born persons in the United States between 1890 and 1900 was 1,091,716. The following table shows how this increase was apportioned among the geographical divisions.

The North Atlantic division embraces New England, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania; the North Central, the States from Ohio to the Dakotas and Kansas, including Missouri; the Western, all west of the Dakotas, Kansas, and Texas; the South Atlantic, West Virginia, the District of Columbia, and all the States south of Pennsylvania which touch the Atlantic coast; the South Central, the remainder of the Southern States.

Increase of Foreign-born, 1890 to 1900, by Geographical Divisions.

	Number.	Per cent. of number found in 1890.	Per cent. of total increase in U.S.
North Atlantic . . .	874,619	22.5	80.1
South Atlantic . . .	7,505	3.6	0.7
North Central . . .	98,360	2.4	9.0
South Central . . .	35,821	11.1	3.3
Western . . .	75,411	9.8	6.9
United States . . .	1,091,716	11.8	100.0

Note: that 80 per cent. of the whole increase of the foreign-born is concentrated in the North Atlantic division.

The following table shows the increase of the foreign-born in certain manufacturing and mining States, and the proportion which the increase in those States bears to the aggregate increase in the country. It will be seen that five States on the Atlantic coast, together with the one interior State of Illinois, received an increase of foreign-born population amounting to 86 per cent. of the whole increase in the United States.

The whole share of Illinois, with more besides, crowded into its one great city. While the foreign-born population of Illinois increased 124,400, that of Chicago increased 136,446. The foreign-born population of Illinois, outside of Chicago, decreased 12,046.

Increase of Foreign-born in Certain States, 1890 to 1900.

	Number.	Per cent. of total increase in United States.
New York	329,375	30.1
Massachusetts	189,187	17.3
Pennsylvania	139,530	12.8
Illinois	124,400	11.4
New Jersey	102,909	9.4
Connecticut	54,609	5.0
Total, 6 States	940,010	86.9

The following table shows the percentage of the natives of certain countries, living in the United States, who were found in the several geographical divisions, both in 1890 and in 1900. The figures are compiled from the reports of the census of 1890, Population, Part I., page cxxxvi, and from the reports of the census of 1900, Volume I., page clxxiv.

Distribution of Foreign-Born, by Birthplaces and Geographical Divisions.

	North Atlantic.		South Atlantic.		North Central.		South Central.		Western.	
	1890.	1900.	1890.	1900.	1890.	1900.	1890.	1900.	1890.	1900.
Great Britain and Ireland,	59.5	61.6	2.5	2.3	27.6	25.6	2.4	2.2	7.9	8.1
France,	36.0	40.6	2.2	2.3	34.1	29.4	12.7	11.2	14.9	16.5
Germany,	32.2	33.2	2.9	2.7	56.4	54.9	4.1	4.1	4.3	5.1
Bohemia,	10.4	14.1	1.4	2.0	84.3	75.8	3.1	6.9	0.8	1.2
Scandinavia,	12.7	16.6	0.3	0.4	76.0	70.9	0.8	1.1	10.0	10.9
Austria,	49.9	62.0	1.7	1.4	31.8	25.5	8.4	3.7	8.1	7.4
Hungary,	72.9	73.0	1.8	1.4	22.2	22.6	1.4	1.3	1.6	1.7
Italy,	65.0	72.7	2.7	2.2	12.0	11.4	6.7	5.4	13.7	8.3
Poland,	38.4	51.2	1.7	1.7	57.0	44.9	1.7	1.4	1.2	0.8
Russia,	50.9	65.9	3.2	3.9	38.2	25.4	1.5	2.1	6.1	2.7

Note: that only 3.9 per cent. of the Poles, 4.4 per cent. of the Hungarians, and 8.7 per cent. of the Russians live in the Southern States or in the Western division; only 58,471 in all, scattered among a total population of nearly 29,000,000.

Note: that the Atlantic States gain only 30 per cent. of the Germans and Scandinavians, but are burdened with almost three-quarters of the Russians, Hungarians, and Italians.

From the following table it will be seen that the local congestion of the most undesirable nationalities tends to increase rather than to diminish. The North Atlantic division received more than three-fourths of the increase of natives of Italy and Russia during the decade, nearly three-fourths of the increase of natives of Hungary, and three-fifths of the increase of natives of Poland.

Increase of Natives of Certain Countries, 1890 to 1900, in each Geographical Division, per centum of the Whole Increase in the United States. ¹

	North Atlantic.	South Atlantic.	North Central.	South Central.	Western.
Hungary,	73.0	1.2	22.9	1.2	1.7
Italy,	77.4	1.9	11.0	4.6	5.1
Poland,	59.1	1.7	37.3	1.2	0.7
Russia,	77.2	4.5	15.6	2.6	0.1

It is sometimes said that the farms of the West have room for an unlimited number of immigrants. The preceding tables show that the nationalities which are now contributing most to the increase of our foreign-born population do not go to the West. The table below shows that they do not go to the farms.

Of a total foreign-born population of 10,356,644, in 1900, 5,130,281, or 49.5 per cent., were found in the 160 cities of more than 25,000 inhabitants. The proportions of the different nationalities which settle in the cities vary widely, however; and they are greatest for the nationalities which are most undesirable on other grounds as well as on this.

¹ Compiled from Census Reports, 1890, Population, Part I., pp. 606-609; Census Reports, 1900, Vol. I., pp. clxxii-clxxiv.

***Proportion of the Natives of Certain Countries, living
in the United States, found in the 160 Principal
Cities.¹***

	Per cent.		Per cent.
Norway,	22.4	England,	46.3
Denmark,	28.1	Germany,	50.2
Wales,	32.3	Ireland,	62.0
Switzerland,	35.3	Italy,	62.4
Sweden,	36.3	Poland,	62.6
Holland,	44.1	Russia,	74.9
Scotland,	46.0		

In 1890 there were in this country 147,440 persons born in Poland; in 1900 there were 383,407. In 1890 the three Atlantic States of New York, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts had 34.6 per cent. of the natives of Poland in the country; in 1900 they had 43.8 per cent. These three States, together with the three interior States of Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, had 76.9 per cent. in 1890 and 77.2 per cent. in 1900. The three interior States had 42.1 per cent. in 1890 and 33.4 per cent. in 1900.

Almost three-fifths of the whole increase during the decade went to Pennsylvania, New York, and Illinois. Pennsylvania received 21.7 per cent., New York 20 per cent., and Illinois 16.6 per cent. Nine-tenths of the increase in Illinois was in the city of Chicago.

Natives of Poland in Certain States.

	1890.		1900.	
	Number.	Per cent. of all in U.S.	Number.	Per cent. of all in U.S.
New York	22,718	15.4	69,755	18.2
Pennsylvania . . .	25,191	17.1	76,358	19.9
Illinois	28,878	19.5	67,949	17.7
Michigan	15,669	10.6	28,286	7.4
Wisconsin	17,660	12.0	31,789	8.3
Massachusetts . . .	3,341	2.3	21,503	5.7
Total, six States . .	113,457	76.9	295,640	77.2

The distribution of the natives of Poland within these States is indicated below.

Natives of Poland in Certain Cities and Urban Counties.

		1890.		1900.	
		Number.	Per cent. of all in State.	Number.	Per cent. of all in State.
Illinois :					
Cook County (Chicago)	. .	25,336	87.7	62,008	91.3
Michigan :					
Wayne County (Detroit)	. .	5,599	35.7	14,236	50.3
Massachusetts :					
Boston		954	28.6	3,832	17.8
Cities above 25,000 inhabitants					
in 1890		1,315	39.4	10,367	48.3
Cities above 25,000 inhabitants					
in 1900 ¹		—	—	10,449	48.6
New York :					
New York City ²		—	—	32,873	47.1
Erie County (Buffalo)	. .	8,929	39.3	19,776	28.4
Cities above 25,000 inhabitants					
in 1890		19,426	85.5	57,095	81.9
Cities above 25,000 inhabitants					
in 1900 ¹		—	—	58,220	83.5
Wisconsin :					
Milwaukee County		10,066	57.0	17,644	55.5

There were 182,580 Italians in the United States in 1890, and 484,703 in 1900. The number in certain States in each of these years was as follows :

¹ The number of foreign-born inhabitants, in 1890, of cities which had not then 25,000 people, is not obtainable.

² The number of foreign-born inhabitants, in 1890, of the present area of New York city, cannot be determined.

Natives of Italy in Certain States.

	1890.		1900.	
	Number.	Per cent. of all in U.S.	Number.	Per cent. of all in U.S.
New York . . .	64,141	35.1	182,248	37.6
Pennsylvania . . .	24,662	13.5	66,655	13.8
New Jersey . . .	12,989	7.1	41,865	8.6
Massachusetts . . .	8,066	4.4	28,785	5.9
Connecticut . . .	5,285	2.9	19,105	4.0
Illinois . . .	8,035	4.4	23,523	4.8
Total, six States . .	123,178	67.4	362,181	74.7
California . . .	15,495	8.4	22,777	4.7
Louisiana . . .	7,767	4.2	17,431	3.6
Ohio . . .	3,857	2.1	11,321	2.3
Total, three States . .	27,119	14.7	51,529	10.6

Note: that the five Atlantic States of New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, together with Illinois, contained two-thirds of the Italians in 1890, and their share had risen to three-quarters in 1900. The three non-Atlantic States of California, Louisiana, and Ohio contained a seventh of the whole in 1890; but in 1900 their share had fallen to hardly more than a tenth.

Four-fifths of the increase of our Italian-born population was in the six States first mentioned.

The congestion of Italians in urban districts is indicated in the following table:

Natives of Italy in Certain Cities and Urban Counties.

	1890.		1900.	
	Number.	Per cent. of all in State.	Number.	Per cent. of all in State.
Connecticut:				
Cities above 25,000 inhabitants in 1890 . .	2,723	51.5	10,657	55.8
Cities above 25,000 inhabitants in 1900 . .	—	—	10,832	56.7
Illinois:				
Cook County (Chicago),	5,734	71.4	16,915	72.0

	1890.		1900.	
	Number.	Per cent. of all in State.	Number.	Per cent. of all in State.
Massachusetts :				
Boston	4,718	58.5	13,738	47.7
Cities above 25,000 inhabitants in 1890	5,936	73.6	18,592	64.6
Cases above 25,000 inhabitants in 1900 ¹	—	—	19,442	67.5
New Jersey :				
Essex County (Newark, etc.)	3,598	27.7	11,896	28.4
Hudson County (Jersey City, etc.)	3,039	23.4	9,646	23.0
Passaic County (Paterson, etc.)	1,198	9.2	5,798	13.8
New York :				
New York City ¹	—	—	145,433	79.8
Cities above 25,000 inhabitants in 1890	53,533	83.5	157,856	86.6
Cities above 25,000 inhabitants in 1900 ¹	—	—	158,463	87.0

There were 182,644 natives of Russia in the United States in 1890 and 424,096 in 1900. The following table shows the proportion gathered in half a dozen States :

Natives of Russia in Certain States.

	1890.		1900.	
	Number.	Per cent. of all in U.S.	Number.	Per cent. of all in U.S.
New York	58,466	32.0	165,610	39.0
Pennsylvania	17,315	9.5	50,959	12.0
Massachusetts	7,325	4.0	26,963	6.4
New Jersey	5,320	2.2	19,745	4.7
Connecticut	3,027	1.7	11,404	2.9
Illinois	8,407	4.6	28,707	6.8
Total, six States	99,860	54.0	303,388	71.8

Note: that while these six States had 54 per cent. of all the natives of Russia in the country in 1890, they had 71.6 per cent. in 1900.

¹ See notes at bottom of page 7.

Of the increase during the decade, these States suffered 84.3 per cent.

Nearly two-thirds of these natives of Russia, or 279,230, were found in the North Atlantic States in 1900, and three-quarters of the rest, or 107,529, in the North Central States.

In 1880 the 50 principal cities of the country contained only 8,967 natives of Russia. In 1890 the 50 principal cities contained 98,736. In 1900 the 50 principal cities contained 290,790.

The following table gives further indication of the tendency of our Russian-born immigrants to the cities:

Natives of Russia in Certain Cities and Urban Counties.

	1890.		1900.	
	Number.	Per cent. of all in State.	Number.	Per cent. of all in State.
Connecticut:				
New Haven	1,160	38.3	3,193	28.0
Hartford	492	16.3	2,260	19.8
Cities above 25,000 in 1890 .	1,879	62.1	7,237	63.4
Cities above 25,000 in 1900 ¹ .	—	—	8,030	70.4
Illinois:				
Chicago	7,683	91.4	24,178	84.2
Massachusetts:				
Boston	4,305	58.8	14,995	55.6
Cities above 25,000 in 1890 .	5,831	79.6	23,819	88.3
Cities above 25,000 in 1900 ¹ .	—	—	24,170	89.7
New Jersey:				
Essex County (Newark, etc.) .	1,348	25.3	5,877	29.8
Hudson County (Jersey City, etc.)	869	16.3	4,592	23.3
Passaic County (Paterson, etc.) .	546	10.3	2,422	12.3
Union County (Elizabeth, etc.) .	364	6.8	1,251	6.3
New York:				
New York City ¹	—	—	155,201	93.7
Cities above 25,000 in 1890 .	56,076	95.9	161,354	97.4
Cities above 25,000 in 1900 ¹ .	—	—	161,491	97.5
Pennsylvania:				
Philadelphia	7,879	45.5	28,951	56.8

¹ See notes at bottom of page 7.

Naturalization.

According to the census of 1900, Volume I., p. ccix, 28.3 per cent. of all foreign-born males over twenty-one years of age are not naturalized. Five per cent. of the whole male population of the United States over twenty-one years of age are aliens. Of the 1,004,217 adult male aliens in the United States, 34 per cent. do not speak English.

The following table gives the proportions of the natives of various countries who were still aliens, according to the census of 1900 :

*Percentage of Aliens among Males of Voting Age, born in Certain Countries, 1900.*¹

Slav . . .	36.0%	British . . .	11.1%
Latin . . .	47.1	Germanic . . .	11.9
Asiatic . . .	84.2	Scandinavian . . .	11.0
Average . . .	45.3	Average . . .	11.5
Average of			
Slav and Latin,	40.5		

At the census of 1890, 54.4 per cent. of the adult male aliens had been in the country long enough to be naturalized. In 1900, with the increasing influx of natives of Latin and Slavic countries, the proportion had risen to 68.4 per cent., or more than two-thirds.²

¹ Census of 1900, Vol. I., p. ccxvii.

² Census of 1900, Vol. I., p. ccxx.

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Immigration Figures for 1902.

(From data furnished by the Commissioner-General of Immigration.)

Comparison of the Fiscal Years ending June 30, 1901 and 1902.

	1901.	1902.
Total immigration	487,918	648,743
Percentage of increase over 1901	—	33
Percentage of increase over 1900	9	45
Percentage of increase over 1899	57	208
Percentage of increase over 1898	113	283
Number debarred from entrance and returned within one year after landing	3,879	5,429
Per cent. debarred and returned	0.8	0.8
Total number of illiterate	117,645	165,105
Per cent. of illiterate in total immigration over 14 years of age	28.4	28.7
Per cent. of total immigration coming from Austria- Hungary, Italy, and Russia	68.6	70.6
Total immigration from Eastern Europe, excepting Hebrews. [See note.]	248,203	353,896
Per cent. of total immigration coming from Eastern Europe, excepting Hebrews	50.8	54.6
Per cent. of total immigration coming from the United Kingdom, France, Germany, and Scandinavia	22.5	20.3
Total immigration from Western Europe, excepting Hebrews. [See note.]	164,792	209,918
Per cent. of total immigration coming from Western Europe, excepting Hebrews	33.7	32.4
Total immigration from Asia	13,698	22,271
Total Hebrew immigration	58,098	57,688
Per cent. of total immigration who were He- brews	11.9	8.9
Average money brought by immigrants, in dollars	15	16
Per cent. of immigrants who have been in the United States before	11.9	9.5

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The Present Status of the Immigration Problem.

The session of Congress just ended has furnished several forcible and interesting illustrations of the way in which a small minority of the American people can bring influence to bear on a few members of Congress, and of how these few members can absolutely prevent legislation. There is no better concrete example of this sort than the immigration bill, for while nominally a bill was enacted into law, essentially the measure was defeated. It is important to emphasize this at the outset, as the public, having no expert knowledge of the subject, is likely to be deceived and to suppose that something important has been accomplished in the way of regulating immigration.

History of Legislation.

In order to understand the present situation, it is necessary to look back and to see what has been accomplished along the lines of the proper restriction of immigration. The first general immigration act was passed in 1882 and fixed the head tax at fifty cents; the contract labor acts in 1885 and 1887; another general act in 1891; an administrative act in 1893; the head tax raised to one dollar in 1895; a general codifying act in 1903, raising the head tax to two dollars. Now immigration legislation may be divided into two parts — that defining what classes of immigrants shall be excluded, and that providing the machinery whereby the exclusion is accomplished.

Classes of Immigrants now Excluded.

Let us consider the excluded classes. (1.) The act of 1862 prohibited the importation of "coolie" labor from oriental countries, and was, therefore, broader than the later "Chinese Exclusion Acts," which have always been considered as distinct from "immigration acts," and which have superseded the coolie provisions. The act of 1875 added (2) convicts, except those guilty of political offences, and (3) women imported for immoral purposes. The act of 1882 added (4) lunatics, (5) idiots, (6) persons unable to care for themselves without becoming public charges. The act of 1885 impliedly and the act of 1887 expressly added (7) contract laborers. The act of 1891 added (8) paupers, (9) persons suffering from loathsome or dangerous contagious diseases, (10) polygamists, (11) "assisted" immigrants, *i.e.*, those whose passage has been paid for by others unless they show affirmatively that they are otherwise admissible. The act of 1903 added (12) epileptics, (13) persons who have been insane within five years previous, (14) professional beggars, (15) anarchists, or persons who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force

or violence of the government of the United States or of all government or of all forms of law, or the assassination of public officials, (16) persons attempting to bring in women for purposes of prostitution, (17) persons deported within a year previous as being contract laborers.

Present Laws not Adequate.

For a long time prior to 1891, and still more strongly after that date, there was a widespread feeling that the laws as framed were entirely inadequate to accomplish their purpose, and that not only was the machinery defective, but the material of immigration was full of undesirable elements. Numerous reports upon the matter were made by Congress and special commissions, but the enemies of restriction claimed that the trouble lay wholly with the administrative features of the law. To improve the machinery the act of 1893, a purely administrative act, was passed, and it soon became apparent that the trouble lay much deeper, and that some further additions to the excluded classes were desirable. A largely increased head tax was advocated; also a system of consular inspection of immigrants in the foreign countries. The former method never found much favor, and the latter method has long since been abandoned as impracticable by every one familiar with the subject. From a statistical and practical study of the immigrants themselves it came to be recognized that there is a close correspondence between ignorance of language and the other chief undesirable qualities. These qualities are, in general, ignorance of a trade, lack of resources, criminal tendencies, aversion to country life and the tendency to congregate in the slums of large cities, a low standard of living and lack of ambition to seek a better, lack of disposition to assimilate and to have any permanent interests in this country. The facts and statistics of these matters have been frequently published and are collected in concise form in the various documents issued by the Immigration Restriction League since 1894.

History of the Illiteracy Test.

Observing this connection between ignorance of language and other undesirable qualities, most students of the immigration problem have come to believe that the next addition to the excluded classes should be made by means of an "illiteracy" or "educational" test. In 1895 a bill to exclude illiterates was introduced into both Houses of the 54th Congress at the request of the League. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, presented the bill in the Senate, and the bill has since been generally known as the "Lodge Bill." It passed the House May 20, 1896, by a vote of 195 to 26, and the Senate Dec. 17, 1896, by a vote of 52 to 10. A conference report subsequently passed the House Feb. 9, 1897, by a vote of 217 to 37, and the Senate on Feb. 17, 1897, by a vote of 34 to 31. Unfortunately, an amendment had been tacked on to the bill in the House at the instance of Representative Corliss, of Michigan, against the protests of the friends of the bill, which was calculated to

make trouble with Canada. On March 2, 1897, the bill was vetoed by President Cleveland, largely because of this amendment.

President McKinley, in his inaugural message, strongly emphasized the need of further restriction, and the same bill, without the Corliss amendment, was promptly introduced into the 55th Congress and passed the Senate Jan. 17, 1898, by a vote of 45 to 28. Then the steamship companies caused numerous telegrams to be sent to the Representatives, stating that a vote for the bill meant defeat at the next election; and other persons interested in defeating legislation succeeded in stirring up a certain factitious opposition among certain German societies by means of false and misleading circulars. The Representatives therefore resolved not to take up the measure until after the elections. Meanwhile the Spanish War broke out, and on Dec. 14, 1898, the bill was refused present consideration in the House by a vote of 103 to 100. It is needless to add that pressure of matters arising out of the war prevented its consideration later in the session.

In the 56th Congress a similar bill was favorably reported by the Senate Committee on Immigration, Jan. 15, 1900, but pressure of Philippine and other business prevented further action.

A similar bill was introduced into both Houses of the 57th Congress. President Roosevelt strongly advocated the educational test in his message to Congress. It so happened that the government was preparing at the same time a general codification of the immigration laws, embodying many desired administrative changes. This bill (H.R. 12199) was originally drafted by the United States Industrial Commission acting in consultation with the officers of the Treasury Department. Modifications were made at the suggestion of the Immigration Restriction League and of a conference of the various commissioners of immigration. The bill was reported to the House, March 18, 1902. The League's bill, embodying the illiteracy test, was added to the general bill by amendment in the House, May 22, 1902, by a vote of 86 to 7, becoming, with some additions, Section 3 of the bill. On June 23, 1902, the bill was favorably reported to the Senate. Then the same influences which are always working against this sort of legislation put in a little underground work, with the result that the bill went over till the fall session.

In his message to Congress, Dec. 2, 1902, the President renewed his recommendation for immigration legislation. On Dec. 8, 1902, the bill was further amended by the Senate sitting in Committee of the Whole. Although the bill had been reported, the Senate Committee continued its hearings, and it is most important to notice who opposed and who favored the pending bill. The only opposition which openly appeared came from the International Navigation Company, the Polish National Alliance, the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad Company, the Southern Pacific Railroad Company, and the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association. One individual opposed Section 3 of the bill. In favor of the bill arguments were made by several of the principal officials of the immigration service, the New York State Lunacy Commission,

the Washington Government Insane Hospital, the American Federation of Labor, the organized railroad employees of the United States, and the Immigration Restriction League. The League presented a list of petitions to the first session of the 57th Congress in favor of the educational test, which when printed covered fifty-seven printed pages of the report of the committee, and a further list of endorsements covering fourteen pages of the report. These endorsements included a large proportion of the Boards of Associated Charities of the principal cities of the United States; all the organizations formed to promote immigration into the Northwestern States; a large number of Chambers of Commerce and Boards of Trade; the American Federation of Labor; the Knights of Labor; the Legislatures of Arkansas, California, Washington, and Wyoming. There were 5,082 petitions in favor of further restriction of immigration sent in to the first session of the 57th Congress, and only 22 petitions against.

Nature of the Opposition to the Test.

Everything looked favorable for the prompt passage of the bill. The steamship companies, of course, opposed the educational test, but most of the railroad companies declared their neutrality, providing the test were not applied against Canadians. Then came the deadlock over the "omnibus statehood bill"; the weeks passed rapidly, and finally, when it became evident that one or two Senators would kill the whole bill unless it were amended, the Senate Committee agreed to drop the educational test, which Senator Lodge described in debate as the "only really valuable part of the bill," and to make certain other amendments weakening its efficiency. In its emasculated form it was passed by both Houses in the closing hours of the session and became law. Two amusing incidents relieved slightly the general disappointment. The bill as passed contained no recognition of the fact that the Immigration Bureau had, during the session, been transferred to the Department of Labor and Commerce, so that a special resolution was needed to rectify the error. Also, although one chief merit of the bill was supposed to be the fact that it was a codification, for some unknown reason the contract labor provisions were taken out, leaving that matter to be governed by the preceding acts.

Now this act, while good as far as it goes, is practically futile. It is not in the least degree a fulfilment of the pledges of the Republican party for legislation along the lines of the educational test, nor of Democratic pledges to exclude the cheap labor of Europe and Asia. It is no answer to the popular demand, repeatedly and emphatically expressed for the last dozen years. No one supposes for a moment that the \$2 head tax will operate as a restrictive provision. It is singular that since 1896 bills embodying the educational test should have passed the House of Representatives four times and the Senate three times, only to be defeated from causes not affecting the merits of the proposition, — the first time, a hostile amendment; the second, the Spanish War; the third and last time, the desire to admit to statehood a few hundred thousand

people, a matter of far less consequence to the public welfare than the yearly admission of hundreds of thousands of far less desirable people into the Northern and Eastern States.

What opposition there is to further restriction outside of a few laissez faire doctrinaires is solely that of parties interested for pecuniary gain. There are the steamship companies with almost unlimited resources, which maintain constantly a lobby at Washington. There are certain railroad corporations which want the cheapest labor they can get, although it is fair to say that most of the railroads have, openly at least, remained neutral, asking only that all be treated alike. Finally, there are some mine owners and contractors who are also indifferent to the moral and social welfare of the public if only they can get their "instruments of production," their human picks and shovels, a bit cheaper. How long are the American people going to stand dictation from this small interested minority?

It is a great piece of good fortune that President Roosevelt has given the immigration service a thorough overhauling and appointed such capable, honest, and trustworthy officials as the present Commissioner-General and the Commissioner at New York. Too much praise cannot be given to the latter for the reforms inaugurated at Ellis Island and the discovery of extensive frauds in the landing of immigrants.

Effects of Unrestricted Immigration.

Space will not suffice to give in detail the reasons why a further regulation of immigration is needed, and why the educational test is the best remedy thus far suggested for present evils. These matters have been fully set forth in the publications of the Immigration Restriction League. There is, however, one effect of immigration which has not received the attention it deserves, namely, its effect in causing what President Roosevelt has forcibly described as "racial suicide" on the part of the earlier settlers and their descendants; or, in other words, race substitution in this country.

In his report for 1902 the Commissioner at the Port of New York says :

"Last year over two thousand cases of aliens who had arrived within the past twelve months and in the meantime become destitute were reported to the outdoor poor department of the city of New York. . . . From my own observation while travelling abroad, as well as from information received, I am satisfied that much of the present immigration is not spontaneous, but assisted or encouraged. . . . It must be clear to all that had our early immigration proceeded from those portions of eastern and southern Europe which are now sending us such large numbers of aliens, this country would not enjoy its present civilization. The constantly deteriorating quality of the recent immigration is a well-established fact, and calls for the execution of existing laws in the most stringent manner. . . . The effect of [the tide of undesirable immigration], if unchecked, will be to dilute and debase the elements which in the past have made this country great."

Gen. Francis A. Walker, Superintendent of the Censuses of 1870 and 1880, explains how the immigration of inferior sorts has lowered the birth-rate of those already in this country. In his "Discussions in Economics," Vol. II., pp. 417-426, he says:

"The American shrank from the industrial competition thus thrust upon him. He was unwilling himself to engage in the lowest kind of day labor with these new elements of population; he was even more unwilling to bring sons and daughters into the world to enter into that competition. . . . The great fact protrudes through all the subsequent history of our population that the more rapidly foreigners came into the United States, the smaller was the rate of increase, not merely among the native population, but throughout the population of the country as a whole, including the foreigners. . . . If the foregoing views are true, or contain any considerable degree of truth, foreign immigration into this country has, from the time it assumed large proportions, amounted not to a re-enforcement of our population, but to a replacement of native by foreign stock." (See articles in "Forum," 1891, pp. 634-743; reprinted in "Discussions in Economics and Statistics," Vol. II., pp. 417-426; also article in "Atlantic Monthly," Vol. 77, p. 822, June, 1896.)

The United States Industrial Commission says in its report, p. 277: "It is a hasty assumption which holds that immigration during the nineteenth century has increased the total population."

R. R. Kuczynski, in the "Quarterly Journal of Economics" for November, 1901, and February, 1902, has shown that in Massachusetts the average number of children born to every foreign born married woman is two-thirds higher than for the natives, and the number of children living three-fifths higher. He says: "It is probable that the native population cannot hold its own. It seems to be dying out."

President Eliot, of Harvard, has recently found that of the graduates of the classes from 1872 to 1877, twenty-eight per cent. are unmarried, and the married average only two surviving children.

Undoubtedly other causes besides immigration have played their part in the lowering of the native birthrate. But, admitting the fact, is it not the strongest of reasons for using our best judgment in the artificial selection of the individuals and races which shall preserve and carry on the great traditions of our past? The immigration problem is not a question of to-day alone, but of our country long after we are dead. We are trustees of our civic ideals and institutions for the benefit of future generations. As Phillips Brooks said: "If to this particular nation there has been given the development of a certain part of God's earth for universal purposes; if the world is going to be richer for the development of a larger type of manhood here, then for the world's sake, for the sake of every nation that would pour in upon that which would disturb that development, we have a right to stand guard over it."

Immigration Figures for 1903.

(From data furnished by the Commissioner-General of Immigration.)

No. 37,43-47 out of 100

Comparison of the Fiscal Years ending June 30, 1902 and 1903.

	1902.	1903.
Total immigration	648,743	857,046
Percentage of increase over 1902		32
Percentage of increase over 1901	33	76
Percentage of increase over 1899	108	175
Percentage of increase over 1898	183	274
Number debarred from entrance and returned within one year after landing	5,429	9,316
Per cent. debarred and returned	0.8	1.1
Number of illiterates over 14 years of age. [See Note 1.]	165,105	189,008
Per cent. of illiterate in total immigration over 14 years of age	28.7	25.0
Immigration from countries of Northern and Western Europe. [See Note 2.]	138,700	203,689
Per cent. of total immigration	21.4	23.8
Immigration from countries of Southern and Eastern Europe. [See Note 2.]	480,331	610,813
Per cent. of total immigration	74.0	71.3
Immigration from Asia	22,271	29,966
Per cent. of total immigration	3.4	3.5
Average money brought, in dollars	16	19
Per cent. of immigrants who have been in the United States before	9.5	8.9
Per cent. of total immigration having no occupation, including women and children	23.6	23.3
Per cent. of total immigration who were farm-laborers, laborers, or servants	60.6	57.3
Per cent. of total immigration destined for the four States of Ill., Mass., N.Y., and Pa.	67.8	65.4

NOTE 1. — Although the percentage of illiteracy shows an improvement this year over last, it should be remembered that these figures are based upon the manifests, which in turn are made up from the statements of the immigrants. One test recently made at New York showed that 175

immigrants listed as able to read and write were, in fact, illiterate. The recent agitation for an educational test for immigrants has undoubtedly made the latter more disposed to assert their ability to read and write.

NOTE 2. — “Northern and Western Europe” includes the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Scandinavia, Belgium, Netherlands, and Switzerland.

“Southern and Eastern Europe” includes Austria-Hungary, Italy, Poland, Russia, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Turkey, and the Balkan States.

GENERAL REMARKS. — Immigration has reached the high-water mark during the past year, exceeding that of the largest previous year (1882) by nearly 70,000. It is gratifying to note an increase of over one-third in the proportion of those debarred and returned, and to testify to the great improvement in the efficiency of the service since the present Commissioner-General took office. Attempts are also being made to secure an adequate inspection by the frontiers of Canada and Mexico, and steps are being now taken to ascertain definitely the aliens in our penal and charitable institutions.

On the other hand, while there has been some increase in the immigration from Northern and Western Europe, the great proportion of immigration has come as usual from the less desirable races of Southern and Eastern Europe, and there has been a considerable influx of illiterate Japanese.

Hon. William Williams, Commissioner at New York, says in his report: “Without the proper execution of [the present laws] it is safe to say that thousands of additional aliens would have come here last year. But these laws do not reach a large body of immigrants who, while not of this class, are yet generally undesirable, because unintelligent, of low vitality, of poor physique, able to perform only the cheapest kind of manual labor, desirous of locating almost exclusively in the cities, by their competition tending to reduce the standard of living of the American workman, and unfitted mentally or morally for good citizenship. It would be quite impossible to accurately state what proportion of last year’s immigration should be classed as ‘undesirable.’ I believe that at least 200,000 (and probably more) aliens came here who, although they may be able to earn a living, yet are not wanted, will be of no benefit to the country, and will, on the contrary, be a detriment, because their presence will tend to lower our standards; and if these 200,000 persons could have been induced to stay at home, nobody, not even those clamoring for more labor, would have missed them. Their coming has been of benefit chiefly, if not only, to the transportation companies which brought them here.”

The largest elements in recent immigration were:

	1899.	1900.	1901.	1902.	1903.
Southern Italian	65,639	84,346	115,704	152,915	196,117
Polish	28,466	46,938	43,617	69,620	82,343
Scandinavian	23,249	32,952	40,277	55,780	79,347
Hebrew	37,415	60,764	58,098	57,688	76,203
German	26,632	29,682	34,742	51,686	71,782
Irish	32,345	35,607	30,404	29,001	35,366
Slovak	15,838	29,243	29,343	36,934	34,427
Croatian and Slovenian .	8,632	17,184	17,928	30,233	32,907

ILLITERACY.

Number of persons in each hundred immigrants over fourteen years of age who cannot write or cannot read and write their own language, from those races (*not nations*) which contributed upwards of 2,000 immigrants to the United States during any of the past four fiscal years:

WESTERN EUROPE.					1900.	1901.	1902.	1903.
Scandinavian	.	.	.	.	0.9	0.8	0.5	0.6
Scotch	.	.	.	.	—	1.2	1.2	1.2
Bohemian and Moravian	.	.	.	.	3.0	1.5	1.6	1.6
English	.	.	.	.	0.2	1.8	1.9	1.6
Irish	.	.	.	.	3.3	3.2	3.9	3.8
Finnish	.	.	.	.	2.7	2.2	1.4	2.2
French	.	.	.	.	3.9	3.9	4.8	3.8
German	.	.	.	.	5.8	4.1	5.4	4.6
Dutch and Flemish	.	.	.	.	9.6	7.8	7.6	6.9
Italian (North)	.	.	.	.	11.2	15.7	14.4	12.7
Average of above . . .					4.2	5.6	4.4	3.9

EASTERN EUROPE (WITH SPAIN AND PORTUGAL).

Spanish	.	.	.	.	—	—	—	8.9
Magyar	.	.	.	.	16.8	7.5	13.3	10.5
Roumanian	.	.	.	.	—	—	28.3	21.5
Slovak	.	.	.	.	27.9	30.7	25.9	21.6
Greek	.	.	.	.	17.1	25.9	30.0	27.7
Russian	.	.	.	.	—	—	—	31.9
Polish	.	.	.	.	31.2	37.5	38.4	32.1
Croatian and Slovenian	.	.	.	.	37.4	39.7	42.2	35.2
Bulgarian, Servian, Montenegrin	.	.	.	.	—	—	—	44.7
Lithuanian	.	.	.	.	31.7	49.8	54.1	46.6
Ruthenian	.	.	.	.	49.0	53.2	50.0	49.4
Italian (South)	.	.	.	.	54.6	59.1	56.4	51.4
Portuguese	.	.	.	.	59.9	63.8	71.6	73.2
Average of above . . .					39.8	46.0	44.3	39.7

OTHER RACES.

Cuban	.	.	.	.	6.8	—	8.0	4.2
Chinese	.	.	.	.	—	6.9	—	12.9
Hebrew	.	.	.	.	22.9	23.6	28.6	26.5
Japanese	.	.	.	.	8.9	6.7	1.2	27.0
African (black)	.	.	.	.	—	—	—	32.5
Syrian	.	.	.	.	55.9	56.1	51.0	53.8

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BURDENS OF RECENT IMMIGRATION

As Illustrated in the State of New York:

BY

FRANK H. AINSWORTH.

Composition of Present Immigration.

Since 1880 there has been an average annual immigration of about 474,380 persons. The greatest number of persons who came in any one year was 857,046, in the fiscal year 1902-1903. Of this number 254,665, or nearly one-third, were destined to New York State, the Italians numbering 101,226, the Hebrews, 50,945, and the Poles, 16,018. There were in all about 195,000 from eastern and southern Europe, while the remainder were from western Europe. By eastern and southern Europe is meant Russia, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Turkey, Bulgaria, Servia, etc., and by western Europe, Great Britain, Scandinavia, Germany, France, Switzerland, Spain and Portugal.

The financial condition of those who came to New York may be estimated by referring to the report of the U. S. Industrial Commission, page 284, from which it appears that south Italians brought on an average \$8.84, Hebrews, \$8.67, and Poles, \$9.94 each. It must be conceded that this is not a large amount for a person to live on in New York while looking for work. Another very significant fact is that while of the total immigration last year, 71.3 per cent. came from eastern and southern Europe and 23.8 per cent. from western Europe, out of the total immigration destined to New York State *nearly 80 per cent. was from eastern and southern Europe, while about 20 per cent. was from western Europe.* This is unanswerable evidence that the former peoples tend to seek settled and, in many instances, overcrowded centres of population, while the latter class are more inclined to distribute themselves.

The Present Laws Inadequate.

There are few, if any, who will not agree that we should rigorously exclude criminals, paupers and those who are physically incapacitated. Laws to that effect have been on the statute books for some time. In 1875, convicts and immoral women were prohibited; in 1882, lunatics, idiots and persons unable to care for themselves; in 1891, paupers and persons suffering from loathsome and contagious disease; and in 1903, epileptics, persons who have

been insane within five years previous, professional beggars and anarchists were prohibited. It would therefore seem that there has for some time been no possibility of the admission of these three general classes of aliens, viz., criminals, paupers and those physically incapable. Yet what is the actual condition in this State? According to the New York Press, March 2, 1904, Dr. Petersen and Mr. Lockwood of the New York State Lunacy Commission appealed to the Secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor for aid in keeping alien insane from becoming a burden to the State. These gentlemen are reported as stating that New York is expending the enormous sum of \$10,000,000 *annually for the support of alien-born insane*; that 60 per cent. of the inmates of the insane asylums of the State were of alien birth, and that no less than 150 insane aliens *who had been inmates of foreign insane asylums* now awaited deportation. Is not this an astounding condition, and is it not sufficient ground of itself for a more severe scrutiny of incoming aliens than the present law directs? This tax of a dollar a year for each resident of New York State to maintain alien insane is by no means all of the burden. Dr. George F. Shrady writes:

“Look at the constant stream of immigrants coming to this port. Two-thirds of the patients in our hospitals are foreigners.”

There recently appeared a statement which has not been contradicted, to the effect that twenty of the principal New York City hospitals had an annual aggregate deficit of about \$450,000, and various methods were suggested by which this deficit could be met. If Dr. Shrady's statement is a fact, and an inspection of the reports of several hospitals indicates that it is, would not the solution of this problem be in this very immigration question that we are considering? Is it not manifestly the proper thing to do to see that no more such aliens come?

The Burden of Supporting Foreign Delinquents and Dependents.

In the 35th annual report of the Presbyterian Hospital, one of the best we have, it appears, page 16, that the total operating expenses were \$213,539.86, and that of 3,026 patients cared for, 1,417, or nearly half, were of alien birth. This hospital has a deficit of \$58,504.88, or about 25 per cent. of the total cost of operation. The question is, then, if there had been no applicants for free treatment, other than citizens of this city, would not this particular hospital not only be free of debt but have a surplus? Would not those who so generously maintain it have cause to congratulate themselves that all the needy were being properly cared for? The burden is increasing, because we are being deluged with a flood of weaklings from European countries whom we shall soon have to support. We are now living in the “seven years

of plenty" and contributions are freely made, but what will be the situation during a period of hard times when we shall still have the same number to care for, but with a much diminished revenue? Another illustration of the burden imposed by undesirable aliens is found in the report of the Lying-In Hospital, from which it appears that, out of 2,595 out-door patients treated, but 315 were native born, and of 696 in-door patients, 260 were born in the United States. The cost of this attendance was \$78,659.12. These figures are from the report of the 104th year of the Society. For the last year there is reported a deficit of \$88,477.63. Is it not a fair conclusion that if there were not a very large number of aliens in this city who could not support themselves, there would be but little need of this institution? There can be no more noble purpose for which wealth can be used than for the relief of suffering humanity, but there is a great danger of abuse in this matter, and there are tokens that such danger is upon us. The eminent statistician, Mr. Henry Gannett, writes:

"The evidence on record is that this country supports the greatest eleemosynary work known to history."

This would be good if it tended only to strengthen the weak and to build up character and self reliance, but if it tends to lessen thrift and industry, and encourage shiftlessness it is a menace. One of the managers of the "House of Refuge" writes:

"I notice the large number of children that are placed in charitable institutions for no crime or misdemeanor, but to relieve their parents of their support. *They are principally from southern and eastern Europe.*" [The italics are the writer's.]

Thus it is evident that the aliens who are diseased and cared for in public and private institutions are an enormous tax upon the commonwealth.

Serious Danger from Diseased Immigrants.

Trachoma.

There are many immigrants, who, although they are not supported by others, constitute a menace to the communities in which they reside, because they are afflicted with disease in primary stages which does not interfere with their ability to do certain kinds of work. The most important of these diseases are trachoma, syphilis and tuberculosis. Take, for example, the present condition of persons afflicted with trachoma, of whom there are said to be 40,000 in this city alone, where practically none existed five years ago. The Board of Education and the Board of Health have found it necessary to examine the pupils in the public schools at frequent intervals in order to check the spread of trachoma among children. This disease has been introduced and extended

almost entirely by aliens from southern and eastern Europe. The report of Special Inspector Marcus Braun, contained in the Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration for 1903, contains the following:

"In Hungary this disease [trachoma] has assumed such proportions that the government encounters great difficulty in some counties to muster the required men for military service, trachomatous people belonging to the class who are rejected for the army. To combat and, if possible, stamp out the disease, the Hungarian government maintains a special medical corps, consisting of fifty physicians who constantly travel to and fro, in certain respective districts to which they are assigned, it being the duty of every person to submit to an examination for such disease and, if found afflicted therewith, to present himself or herself for gratuitous treatment twice a week until cured. . . . Although this rule is strictly enforced, *people intending to emigrate rarely observe it* [italics are the writer's], and in order to be able to give the Department more definite information on this subject, I accompanied Dr. Simon Buchwald, one of the physicians appointed by the government of Hungary for the district of Lipto-Szt. Miklos, on one of his tours through the villages of his district, and was present at the examinations and treatment conducted by him. I succeeded in obtaining from Dr. Buchwald an extract of the official record of 35 persons of the age ranging from 17 to 42 years, *who had left the district for the United States and were afflicted with trachoma, had been treated by him, and at the time of their departure were not cured. Only four of these emigrants returned to their respective homes, having been refused at the medical examination regularly held at the control stations of the North German Lloyd and Hamburg American Lines at the Austro-Prussian border, upon the ground of this very affliction.* . . . [Italics are the writer's.] There are at least 60,000 persons in the Kingdom of Hungary suffering from trachoma. The worst conditions in this respect prevail in Russia, where at least 30 per cent. of the army are afflicted with this dread disease, who, after their discharge from the army, spread the affliction in all parts of the empire."

On page 6 of the report of the Commissioner-General it is stated that 572,726 aliens came from Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Russia, the very countries which Mr. Braun reports as being particularly affected by trachoma. The present law prohibits any person having this disease from landing. Of the number of persons deported last year, 748 were afflicted with trachoma. During the voyage from Europe these persons were in close association with their fellow passengers. How close that association is, only those who have visited the steerage quarters and seen 200 or more men, women and children in one open compartment, with no privacy, can realize. This contact is maintained from six to fifteen days, according to the time the vessel occupies on the voyage. From the nature of the case, no positive evidence can be submitted, but it is not unreasonable to say that each of the 748 inoculated at least one other person on the ship. Upon being inspected at Ellis Island,

this would not be apparent because the period of incubation is not passed. As a result, probably 748 or more cases of trachoma were introduced into our midst last year, and we have no protection against it.

Tuberculosis.

Tuberculosis is a disease that is becoming more prevalent, especially in the overcrowded portions of New York City. At the Tuberculosis Exposition held in Baltimore last January it was stated that 30,000 persons were affected in New York City; that 8,500 died from its effects last year, and 13,000 new cases were reported to the Health Department during the same period. The following statement was made at that time by Dr. Herman N. Biggs, chief bacteriologist of the Health Department, according to the press reports:

"The \$500,000 expended by the municipality each year for the care and treatment of tuberculosis patients is estimated as only 2 per cent. of the actual loss to the city from this scourge. It kills or incapacitates the young and the most useful members of society and costs the city at least \$25,000,000 each year."

In immigrants of low vitality we have the very class of people who, by reason of their physical condition and habits of crowding in unsanitary quarters are in a position to become easy victims of consumption. Dr. Henry L. Shively, of New York, says:

"Infection from trachoma and favus is readily traced to immigrant sources; in tuberculosis the course of the disease is slow and insidious, and immediate sources of infection are less readily recognized. It is perhaps for this reason that the danger of the tuberculous immigrant to the health of the community has not been emphasized as it should be. . . . Their gregariousness causes them to herd together in thickly-populated urban communities of their own nationality, thereby lowering the standard of living among the city poor, and making their own education in the elementary principles of hygiene slow and difficult."

Here we see the professional man and the public official pointing out almost exactly the same objectionable class from totally different view points and entirely independent of one another. Having this testimony that many immigrants seek crowded quarters let us hear what the Church Association for the Improvement of Labor has to report on the actual conditions in these quarters. Referring to some of the tenement houses this report is made:

"Under these conditions children work from early morning until late at night. Women work from morning to midnight, and on Sundays. The average wage is \$3.00 per week. Trousers are finished for less than five cents a pair and it takes two hours to make one pair. Not only 80 per cent. of the clothing sold in New York City but many other articles are made in tenement sweat shops. *One man was seen covering boxes with paper and using sputum to fasten it on. These boxes were for wedding cake.*"

Is there any language too strong to point out the danger resulting from this condition of living to which such numbers of immigrants flock? This Society goes on to state:

"Tuberculosis, diphtheria, smallpox, scarlet fever, measles, and affections of the eyes and skin are propagated in the rooms of the tenement house dweller, in which besides the family itself with an occasional lodger or two, assemble day by day, in defiance of law, as large a crowd of workers as can be packed into them. The atmosphere, already fetid enough by mere presence of those who fill it, is rendered still more oppressive and unwholesome by the heat of the stove and the irons required in the business, besides being highly seasoned by the malodorous preparations which enter into the cooking arrangements. Every piece of furniture, even the floor space, is utilized. If the children are in bed or in their cradles it makes no difference, the clothing, finished or unfinished, lies heaped up until it is taken back to the contractor. If the children have any contagious disorder it is of no consequence; the garments impregnated with disease germs go out all the same, carrying with them their seeds of sickness and death. It may be that candy or medicine boxes pass through the hands of the workers, some of whom may be afflicted with tuberculosis. It is all the same. The edges of the boxes are smeared with the germ-laden saliva and the boxes themselves are sent off to some candy or drug store, the bearers, possibly, of mortal disease to some unsuspecting victim."

One or two cases taken from the report of the Lying-In Society may further illustrate the condition that city-destined immigrants develop.

"Seventh child: Italians; man, a laborer out of work for past four months. Woman very ill, evidently overworked; had finished clothing at home working early and late for 40 cents per day, etc."

"Fourth child: Family two weeks in America; very destitute; man learning the trade of presser, not under wages. No clothing for baby, same not being used in Russia, etc."

"Fifth child: Woman lying in filthy sweatshop; several girls and old woman working in room. No clothing for bed or patient, etc."

This report goes on to state that:

"The demands on charitable institutions in this city increase from year to year, in caring for, and giving to many of these people who remain here, proper medical service."

Is any further evidence necessary to prove that we do not want any more of this class of immigrants who are destined to the cities?

Crime and Pauperism.

In the year 1900 the foreign-born population of the city of New York was 1,270,080 out of a total of 3,437,202, or a little over one-third. During the year 1902 in the City Magistrates' Court of the first division, out of 55,125

persons held for trial or summarily tried and convicted, 27,031 were born in foreign countries. Of these, it is remarkable to note that in 1900 the total Greek population of New York is given as 1,309, while in the year 1902 1,678 Greeks were held in these courts as above described. These arrests were largely for violation of corporation ordinances, and not of a serious nature, but nevertheless it is a remarkable indication of ignorance of, or indifference to, the law. In the report of the Five Points House of Industry, Vol. XLVI., p. 12, it is stated that of 378 cases, the parents of 116, or less than one-third, were of American birth, while in 262 instances the parents were of alien birth. The report of the Society for the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents (House of Refuge) for the 78th year shows that 430 children were received, of whom 135 were American (94 white and 41 colored), the remainder being of foreign birth. It might be interesting to know how many of those classified as Americans were of American-born parents. The Seventh Annual Report of the U. S. Commissioner of Labor shows, that the proportions of those of foreign birth or parentage to the total population in the slums of Baltimore was 77 per cent., in Chicago 90 per cent., in New York 95 per cent., and in Philadelphia 91 per cent. This report also shows that 51.11 per cent. of the slum population of New York is from eastern and southern Europe.

The following case may also serve to illustrate the existence of undesirable aliens. Annie Ventre, 12 years old, small for her age, was found working in the Chelsea Jute Mills, Greenpoint. She had been employed upon presentation of the affidavit of her father. Her mother testified that the child was twelve years old and had been working in the mill for nearly one year. Her father, Rafael Ventre, said that he had come to this country two years before the opening of the Brooklyn Bridge (1884). Annie, he said was born in this country, but he could not remember the year.

"Did you swear that Annie was born on April 4, 1887?"

"Yes, I put my cross to it."

"And did you know what it was?"

"I signed it after it had been drawn up and read to me in both English and Italian. I understood that it was all right. I never went to school."

When placed on the stand a second time the father admitted that he stated that Annie was sixteen years old so that she could get work and help him to run the house. Are any such immigrants wanted?

A story is told by one of the managers of the House of Refuge who examined boys to be paroled. The person applying for the boy, of whom the story is told, was a well-dressed man who wore considerable jewelry and had a handsome overcoat with a fur collar. When asked his interest in the boy he replied that he was the father. Asked if he had any more children, stated that he had seven more, *all in public institutions where he expected to leave them until they were old enough to take care of themselves.*

A city magistrate writing on this subject says :

"I have been particularly disturbed by the growth of faginism of children on the east side. Some of these children are immigrants and some are the children born here from immigrants. It has been particularly severe in that section of the city among the Jews, Roumanians, and Poles, and I do not find it existing in any other part of the city."

Fraudulent Naturalization.

Still another feature that is developing into alarming proportions in connection with immigration is the fraudulent naturalization of aliens. This, it has been truly said, is the fault of ourselves and of our incomplete laws on the subject. However that may be, let us briefly examine some of the results. It has been estimated that there are 50,000 fraudulent citizenship papers held in New York City alone. This is indeed difficult of verification, but the wholesale resignations from the Street Cleaning Department last year, when the matter was being investigated, give some color to the estimate. District Attorney Burnet is reported as saying that one agency in this city sold 4,000, and another 2,000 naturalization papers last year. From the testimony in the trial of J. W. E. York, former clerk in the United States Court, it appears that this man sold citizenship papers, made out in blank, and with forged signatures, at from five to ten dollars each! Giovanni Morrelli, an Italian miner from Butte, Montana, is reported to have testified before the authorities at Ellis Island that he had been in this country but three years and had full citizenship papers apparently issued by the County Court of Butte, Montana. Before United States Commissioner Shields, Morrelli swore that he knew hundreds of Italians in Butte who had full citizenship papers and had been in America two or three years. In connection with some arrests recently made it was asserted that one-fourth of the Italians in the Street Cleaning Department have obtained their positions by means of fraudulent papers. All those arrested voted last fall as citizens and declared that they were able "to get their fraudulent papers through the assistance of political ward heelers." The Schuylkill County (Pa.) courts recently refused citizenship to a number of applicants because they did not know whether they came to this country before they were 18 years old.

**If you think further regulation of immigration
is needed, please communicate with the IMMIGRA-
TION RESTRICTION LEAGUE, Boston, Mass.**

THE RESTRICTION OF IMMIGRATION

By ROBERT DEC. WARD

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THE RESTRICTION OF IMMIGRATION.

BY ROBERT DE C. WARD.

IN the April number of the REVIEW, Mr. O. P. Austin answers in the negative the question, "Is the New Immigration Dangerous to the Country?" and arrives at his conclusions by an analysis of numerous statistics, of which he is a well-known and acknowledged master. Mr. Austin says that it is hard "to apply the statistical measuring rod with an assurance of obtaining exact results in the way of conclusions." To this the present writer cordially agrees, for he is convinced that the immigration problem is so vast and so complex that present statistics cannot give any satisfactory solution of it. This problem, however difficult it may be for us to deal with here and now, is essentially a problem not of the present, as most writers assume, but of the future. And because the problem is of the future rather than of to-day, present statistics of immigration, of the character of our immigrants, and of their relation to pauperism and crime, cannot furnish satisfactory answers to questions arising out of this problem. Again, the assimilation of our immigrants cannot possibly be treated by means of statistics alone. Whether our recent immigrants are or are not becoming satisfactorily assimilated can only be determined by those who have constant close personal relations with them.

Thus we are ready to take up the first of the conclusions reached by Mr. Austin, "that the present immigration, large as it is, is not beyond our power of assimilation, and probably of healthful assimilation." The first comment which suggests itself in this connection concerns the numbers, not of last year's immigration, nor of this year's, but of the immigration of 1925, 1950, and of other years still farther off in the future. It is perfectly certain that emigration to this country will not decrease in the

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future, except during occasional periods of financial depression, but that it will and must increase, unless the United States take some steps towards further restriction. No one who has watched the trend of passenger-steamship traffic between the United States and European ports within the past few years, and especially within the past year, can have failed to be impressed by the increase in the number of sailings in general, and especially by the marked increase in the number of sailings to and from Mediterranean ports. Within a few months the White Star Line has inaugurated a new service between Mediterranean ports and the United States; the Cunard Line has entered into competition for the steerage traffic from southern Europe, northern Africa and Asia, and has closed a contract with the Austro-Hungarian Government by which the Cunard ships are guaranteed 30,000 emigrants from Austria-Hungary every year;* a new line of steamers has been established between Odessa and New York; the Austro-American steamers which formerly plied as cargo-boats between Trieste and Central America have been transferred to run as passenger-ships between Trieste and New York; the number of Mediterranean sailings of the Hamburg-American, North German Lloyd and other companies, has been largely increased. All this is evidence of a very large growth in the steerage-passenger traffic from southern and eastern Europe and from Asia. The building of new railroads in Asia; the easier communication with the sea thus resulting; the increase in the number of steamship agents all over eastern Europe, northern Africa and Asia Minor—all this likewise means more immigrants.†

Our fathers, who witnessed a total immigration of 128,393 in the decade 1820-1830, would probably have thought it beyond the range of human possibility to have 1,000,000 people brought across the ocean in a year. Yet, in view of the rapid increase in the size of ocean steamships, some of which now accommodate over 2,000 immigrants at once, may we not with reasonable cer-

* That part of the contract which concerns the guarantee of 30,000 emigrants annually has since been modified, according to cabled reports from Europe.

† The competition between the rival steamship lines has recently resulted in a rate-war, and in an accompanying reduction of the cost of a steerage passage from many European ports to the United States to ten dollars, and even less. The natural consequences have been an increase in the number of immigrants, and a marked deterioration in their quality.

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tainty expect an annual immigration of 2,000,000 within ten or fifteen years? Do any statistics as to numbers of foreign-born now here help us to solve the immigration problem of the future, which is going to be so immeasurably more difficult? Furthermore, the new immigration from Austria-Hungary, Italy, Russia, Poland, Greece, the Balkan Peninsula, Syria, etc., which has only just begun, will continue to increase with increasing facility of transportation. If we have an Italian slum problem, and a Jewish slum problem now, what shall we have when perhaps 3,000,000 Russian Jews have come to us, and when 5,000,000 Italians are living here? Not only so, immigration from Asia has only just begun. Within a few years it may increase until we have more Asiatic immigrants in a year than we now have Italians. Is this not reasonably certain, and was not the late General Francis A. Walker right when he said that the tide of immigration will flow on as long "as there is any difference of economic level between our own population and that of the most degraded communities abroad"? This, it seems to the writer, is the view of the future which ought to be taken by every one who thinks seriously of this vast problem of immigration. James Bryce was not far wrong when he spoke of the more and more thorough "drainage" of the inland regions of Europe which is illustrated for us in the new immigration, and General Walker's apt phrase, "Pipe-Line Immigration," is as true as it is suggestive; for, although many thousands of immigrants still come here every year who may be ranked with the pioneers who came fifty years ago, when the journey was long, hard and expensive, a very large number now come because they are persuaded to come by some steamship agent; or because they find it easier to leave their home problems and take a fresh start, or indeed because their own communities make it easy for them to leave for the good of those communities. It appears, then, that statistics of present immigration are of little help in a broad view of the immigration problem of the future.

As to the assimilation of our alien population, that, likewise, cannot be expressed statistically. In this matter, there has been no more authoritative expression of opinion, by a large body of competent judges, than is contained in a series of resolutions sent to the last Congress from most of the Boards of Associated Charities throughout the United States. These resolutions, which em-

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bodied the views of voluntary and paid charity workers who every day are brought into close contact with the immigrant, and who, if anything, are prejudiced in his favor, held that "it is impossible to make the conditions of the very poor substantially better when every arriving steamer brings more of the ignorant and unskilled to compete for the employments that are open only to the ignorant and unskilled"; and that "the difficulty of securing universal education is greatly increased when every year sees landed an army of one hundred thousand illiterates, whose children will start upon their career as American citizens from ignorant homes, under practically foreign surroundings." It is significant to find in the last Annual Report of the Associated Charities of Boston the following:

"With an immigration as unrestrained as at present, we can have little hope of permanent gain in the struggle for uplifting the poor of our cities, since newcomers are always at hand, ignorant of American standards."

Again, in the 27th Annual Report of the United Hebrew Charities of New York, after statistics concerning pauperism, is the following:

"It is unnecessary to introduce . . . the causes that underlie these conditions. The horrible congestion in which so many of our coreligionists live, the squalor and filth, the lack of air and sunlight. . . . Even more pronounced are the results accruing from these conditions: the vice and crime, the irreligiousness, lack of self-restraint, indifference to social conventions, indulgence of the most degraded and perverted appetites, which are daily growing more pronounced and more offensive."

It is clear that we are not properly assimilating our foreign population when a judge in New York State rejects the naturalization papers of sixty persons, on the ground that "when a man has been in this country five years, and is unable to speak our language, . . . he is not fitted to be admitted to citizenship;" or, when we find in the factories of the Empire State young men and women of seventeen to twenty who have lived here since they were four or five and who cannot yet understand or speak English. It must, furthermore, always be remembered that even if all the "unabsorbed" immigrants are brought to the point of demanding the same standards of living as those of the older part of the population, there is, as the late Professor Richmond Mayo-Smith so

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clearly pointed out, an inexhaustible supply behind, which in its turn must also be raised up.

Thus, there are two sides to the question, Has the new immigration become assimilated? Whatever may have been our success in assimilating those who have come in the past, it must be remembered that our work thus far is small compared with what is before us. No wonder that General Walker, who had intimate acquaintance with this problem through his work as Superintendent of the United States census, wrote:

“That man must be a sentimentalist and an optimist beyond all bounds of reason who believes that we can take such a load upon the national stomach without a failure of assimilation, and without great danger to the life and health of the nation.”

In connection with assimilation, Mr. Austin makes use of the argument that, “while the immigration is larger now than ever before, it is no larger in proportion to the population than on many former occasions.” The difficulty about this argument is that, whereas in the early days of the “new” immigration, twenty years or so ago, the “new” immigrants found themselves merged in a great mass of many millions, consisting almost wholly of Anglo-Saxons, it is becoming increasingly true that our new arrivals from southern and eastern Europe and from Asia come less and less in contact with the older part of our population. What difference does it make to the 200,000 Italians, Hebrews and Poles who were last year destined to New York State, and mostly to New York City, that there is a total population in the country of 80,000,000? The path of an immigrant is very easy from his European village to a settlement of his own countrymen in some American city. He naturally goes where his relatives and friends have already settled; he may live for years in an American community without coming very directly in contact with the older portion of the population, and sometimes even without finding any necessity of learning the English language. Thus it appears that statistics of annual immigration, in its relation to the total population of the country, cannot give any idea of the capacity of our people for the assimilation of the million of immigrants who came last year, nor of the possible future assimilation of the millions who will later come to us.

In regard to Mr. Austin's second conclusion, “that the so-

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called 'objectionable class' is not the class which is filling the jails and almshouses," it should be noted that the census statistics of criminality are defective in that they do not make adequate distinction between criminals of foreign birth and of foreign parentage, and that crimes are not properly classified in respect of their being petty or serious. Secondly, it is yet too early to determine statistically what the relation of the new immigration to crime and pauperism will be, there being a good deal of evidence that the children of our recent immigrants are less law-abiding than their foreign-born parents. Thus, in the Final Report of the United States Industrial Commission, page 967, it is stated that "the second generation, *i. e.*, the native children of foreign parents, furnish the largest proportion of commitments and prisoners of all race elements in the population." Thirdly, a good deal of evidence can be adduced to show that the new immigration is a good deal of a financial burden, after all. In New York City there is, of course, the greatest congestion of recent immigrants, and here the rest of the country may well learn a lesson as to the conditions which are pretty certain to prevail elsewhere, as our other cities become more and more filled with the "Pipe-Line" immigrants from the slums of Europe and of Asia. One of the managers of the "House of Refuge" in New York City says:

"I notice the large number of children that are placed in charitable institutions for no crime or misdemeanor, but to relieve their parents of their support. They are principally from southern and eastern Europe."

There are estimated to be 40,000 cases of trachoma in New York City, imported almost entirely by aliens from southern and eastern Europe, and this danger is so great that the Boards of Education and of Health have found it necessary to examine the pupils in the public schools at frequent intervals, in order to check the spread of this disease among the children. Dr. H. J. Shively says:

"Infection from trachoma and favus is readily traced to immigrant sources; in tuberculosis the course of the disease is slow and insidious, and immediate sources of infection are less readily recognized. It is perhaps for this reason that the danger of the tuberculous immigrant to the health of the community has not been emphasized as it should be."

When all has been said, *pro* and *con*, it still remains a fact that, whether the new immigration does or does not add *unduly* to the number of criminals and dependents, it certainly adds considerably to them, and finally, that the present gives but little idea of what the future will bring forth. The fact that our newer immigrants have so far not furnished a disproportionately large number of paupers is doubtless in part due to their lower standards of living. But, meanwhile, these same lower standards of living work detrimentally with regard to the community as a whole.

Mr. Austin's third conclusion as to the "new" immigrants is "that, while they are somewhat deficient in the matter of education, that of their children is likely to compare favorably with that of our own population, and that they will thus contribute a safe and valuable element to the future population of the country." This opinion is based on the fact that a larger percentage of the children of immigrants go to school during the years between five and fourteen than of the children of native whites, and that the percentage of illiterates among children born in the United States of foreign parents is smaller than among the children of native whites. These facts are well known, and are among the most hopeful and most encouraging signs for the future. On the other hand, however, ought we to make our already heavy burden of native illiteracy any heavier by adding to it several hundred thousand foreign illiterates, for the reason, forsooth, that the children of these foreign illiterates will form "a safe and valuable element" in the population? We have the burden of native illiteracy, adult and child; we have the burden of negro education. Our first duty is, obviously, to our own people. Shall we deliberately add to these burdens the education of the illiterate millions who are coming and will continue to come from foreign lands? Miss Adele Marie Shaw, who has recently made a thorough study of the New York City public schools, concludes that the only remedies for the conditions there existing are the restriction of foreign immigration and a vast increase in expenditure—"larger than any yet dreamed of." "With eighty-five per cent. of its population foreign or of foreign parentage, its salvation dependent upon the conversion of a daily arriving cityful of Russians, Turks, Austro-Hungarians, Sicilians, Greeks, Arabs, into good Americans . . . the city has a problem of popular education that is staggering." Furthermore, it is to be remembered that

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the very statistics which show the small illiteracy of the children of foreign-born immigrants also show a high percentage of criminality of these same children when they grow up.

Fourthly, regarding the relation of the newer immigrants of the "objectionable class" to politics, it is claimed by Mr. Austin "that they are not, as a class, as dangerous an element in politics as has been frequently asserted." To confirm this view, statistics are given to show that the recent immigrants from southern and eastern Europe have not, as a whole, become naturalized to any great extent, and hence do not exert a bad political influence, because they do not vote. This is a curious argument, from an American point of view: that there is no objection to having a large number of immigrants of certain races in our population as long as these people do not vote. Can that be a very desirable class of immigrants which we are anxious to have remain outside the body politic? The fact that many electoral votes against free silver in 1896 came from States having a large number of foreign-born voters is not an argument against the further restriction of the immigration of races least closely allied to us, for these foreign-born voters were almost altogether from northern and western Europe, the others, as Mr. Austin himself points out, not generally being naturalized.

Mr. Austin's last conclusion is "that they are an important factor in the development and wealth-producing power of the country," and this conclusion he supports by means of statistics showing that in the States having a large proportion of foreigners there has been a very great production of wealth. No one can, or would, deny the fact that recent immigrants have contributed to the wealth of the country, but to argue from bare statistics that, because these States have witnessed a very large production of wealth, therefore the "new" immigration should be allowed to continue practically as at present, is rather illogical. Cheap labor is usually considered by the capitalist to be an advantage, and large employers of labor have always used their influence in Congress to ward off impending immigration legislation. But, as Mr. Edward T. Devine, Secretary of the Charity Organization Society of New York, has recently well said:

"While it is true that cheap labor may be profitable from the employer's point of view, it does not follow that those who are considering the interests of the community as a whole can look with favor upon

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it. . . . The effect of utilizing underpaid immigrant labor under conditions which, in order to afford a living at all, make excessive demands upon adult men, and lead irresistibly to the employment of women and children, is directly to increase the number who sooner or later require relief. . . . The plain tendency is to augment the number of those who break down prematurely; of those who in advanced years have made no provision for their own maintenance; of the children whose support must be supplied by others than their own parents, and of those who, meeting with unexpected misfortunes of any kind, have no resources except the generosity of strangers."

In other words, labor which is economically "cheap" is not socially "cheap." Concerning the character of much of our present immigration we have the testimony of the Commissioner of Immigration at New York, one of the most efficient, capable and honest officers who have ever been in the Government service, who holds that "capital cannot, and would not if it could, employ much of the alien material that annually passes through Ellis Island." These people "are neither physically nor mentally fitted to go to the undeveloped parts of our country."

"At least 200,000 (and probably more) aliens came in (last year) who, although they may be able to earn a living, yet are not wanted, will be of no benefit to the country, and will, on the contrary, be a detriment, because their presence will tend to lower our standards; and if these 200,000 persons could have been induced to stay at home, nobody, not even those clamoring for more labor, would have missed them. Their coming has been of benefit chiefly, if not only, to the transportation companies which brought them here."

✓ The writer is not a believer in the total prohibition of immigration, nor even in a large measure of restriction; he realizes that good immigration always has been and always will be an advantage to this country; he does not for a moment wish to appear as opposing Italian immigration, or Jewish immigration, or Hungarian immigration as a whole; he has come into too close contact with many of our newer immigrants to have failed to see the many excellent qualities which distinguish large numbers of these people. He merely wishes to present, for the consideration of the readers of the REVIEW, the other side of the conclusions which Mr. Austin has reached. He feels that any one who makes a thorough study of the whole immigration problem,—not of a few alien families in one city only—without the prejudice of mere sentiment or of selfish and pecuniary interests, and who looks to the future

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rather than at the present, must reach the conclusion that some reduction in the volume of immigration is necessary, if American standards of living, and American ideals generally, are to be maintained for all time. This reduction may be accomplished by means of a law limiting the number of immigrants from different countries who shall come here each year, as has been suggested by Congressman Robert Adams, Jr., of Pennsylvania; or, less arbitrarily, by means of the illiteracy test, which has the support of President Roosevelt, of the Commissioner of Immigration, and of a large majority of those who have given the subject serious thought. This test is in line with our ideas of universal education; will enormously stimulate the demand for popular education in Europe; will reduce the number of immigrants to a volume which there is some possibility of our being able to assimilate; will, with reasonable exceptions to prevent the separation of families, admit those only who, possessing the rudiments of an education, will certainly have a valuable asset in the struggle for existence.

After all, the fundamental question which underlies everything else in this immigration problem has not even been alluded to in Mr. Austin's article. No statistical study of immigration can ever be complete because there is one element, more important than all the others, concerning which no statistics can ever be compiled. That element is the number of American children who, because of the pressure of foreign immigration, *have never been born*. Back of all statistics of the criminality, pauperism, assimilation, illiteracy, naturalization and economic value of immigrants, lies the great question of the effect of immigration upon our native, or older, stock. No discussion of this question can be at all complete which leaves this out of consideration. The immigration of the last fifty years has contributed millions to our population; has undoubtedly added enormously to the wealth of the country, but these things have been accomplished at the expense of the native stock. The decreasing birth-rate of our native population, the complex resultant, without doubt, of many factors, has been very largely due to the effect of foreign immigration. The late General Walker first advanced this view; that, as newer and lower classes of immigrants came to this country, Americans shrank more and more from the industrial competition which was thus forced upon them; they became unwilling to subject their

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sons and daughters to this competition, and hence *these sons and daughters were never born*. The stronger the competition, the greater the effort to maintain and raise the standard of living and the social position above that of the majority of recent immigrants; and the greater this effort, the greater the voluntary check to population. This competition is most serious in its consequences when it is due to the immigration of races which are able and content to live under wholly inferior conditions, and when this immigration continually feeds the lower strata of the population, however rapidly the intermediate strata may be raised in their standards of living. The question is a race question, pure and simple. Many of our recent immigrants, not discouraged by the problem of maintaining high standards of living with their many children, are replacing native Americans. It is fundamentally a question as to what kind of babies shall be born; it is a question as to what races shall dominate in this country. The American birth-rate is decreasing. Mr. R. R. Kuczynski, after a very careful study of the population statistics of Massachusetts, concludes that the native population is dying out. General Walker believed that foreign immigration into this country has, from the time it assumed large proportions, not reinforced our population, but replaced it. The United States Industrial Commission, which made one of the most thorough studies of immigration ever undertaken, says in its Final Report that "it is a hasty assumption which holds that immigration during the nineteenth century has increased the total population." In his new book, "The Slav Invasion and the Mine Workers," Dr. P. J. Warne says that the coming of the Slavs into the mining districts of Pennsylvania since 1880 has determined the number of births in the older, English-speaking portion of the population. More recently still, Mr. Henry Gannett, well known for his statistical work in connection with the Census, in a hitherto unpublished statement, says:

"I do not think that our population has been materially, if at all, increased by immigration. On the contrary, I think that our population would be almost, if not quite, as numerous if the great flood of immigration which began in 1847 had never reached our shores."

Mr. Gannett believes that the mixture of our blood with that of Germany, Ireland and Scandinavia has been an advantage, but he

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also believes that a mixture with the blood of the "new" immigration "can have only a bad effect." Finally, in a recent article, Mr. Robert Hunter, of the University Settlement in New York, puts the case very clearly as follows:

"The fathers and mothers of the American children can be chosen, and it is in the power of Congress to decide upon what merits. . . . No nation has ever had a social responsibility of greater magnitude. The future of American society, industry, religious faith, political institutions, may be decided in a way quite marvellous by the governing powers of this country. The worst aspect of the whole matter is that the selfish forces interested in promoting immigration in every conceivable way, are deciding all these questions for us. The ones who come and the numbers who come depend largely upon the steamship companies. Whether we have more Hungarians than Italians, or Syrians than Greeks, or Scandinavians than Slavs, depends to a very large extent upon their ports, their passage rates and their success in advertising and soliciting. . . . I believe that this country may be ruined by leaving the volume and quality of immigration almost entirely to the decision of the steamship companies. . . . The skill of their agents decides whether we shall have one race or another come in great masses to our shores. . . . If we let the steamship companies and the railroads, wanting cheap labor, alone, we shall not decide what immigrants will be better for coming, and what ones the country needs. They will decide it for us. . . . Our governing bodies . . . in the past . . . have failed to consider the welfare of the people, either immigrants or Americans. The decision has been made as a result of pressure brought to bear upon public officials by private and selfish interests. (Our national characteristics may be changed; our love of freedom, our religion, our inventive faculties, our standard of life.) All of the things, in fact, for which America has been more or less distinctive among the nations, may be entirely altered. Our race may be supplanted by another, by an Asiatic one, for instance, and not because it is better so, nor because it is for the world's good.) On the contrary, it is in order that individuals interested in steamships may be benefited, and in order that employers may have cheaper labor. These selfish forces may be disguised, but they are there."

ROBERT DEC. WARD.

Immigration Figures for 1904

(From data furnished by the Commissioner-General of Immigration.)

9325.78012

Comparison of the Fiscal Years ending June 30, 1903 and 1904

	1903.	1904.
Total Immigration	857,046	812,870
Number debarred from entrance and returned within one year after landing [<i>See Note 1.</i>]	9,316	8,773
Per cent. debarred and returned	1.1	1.1
Number of illiterates over 14 years of age. [<i>See Note 2.</i>]	189,008	172,856
Per cent. of illiterate in total immigration over 14 years of age	25.0	24.6
Immigration from Northern and Western Europe, 1903, Teutonic and Keltic races, 1904, [<i>See Note 3.</i>]	203,689	293,922
Per cent. of total immigration	23.8	36.1
Immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe, 1903, Slavic and Iberic races, 1904, [<i>See Note 4.</i>]	610,813	459,003
Per cent. of total Immigration	71.3	56.5
Immigration from Asia	29,966	26,186
Per cent. of total immigration	3.5	3.2
Average money brought, in dollars	19	26
Per cent. of immigrants who have been in the United States before	8.9	12.8
Per cent. of total immigration having no occupa- tion, including women and children	23.3	26.4
Per cent. of total immigration who were farm-labor- ers, laborers or servants	57.3	49.4
Per cent. of total immigration destined for the four States of Ill., Mass., N. Y. and Pa.	65.4	64.6
Per cent. of total immigration destined for the Southern and Western States		10.1

NOTE 1.—The figures for 1904 include also those immigrants returned within three years after landing, under the Act of March 3, 1903, but do not include 6856 debarred at ports on the Canadian and Mexican borders.

NOTE 2.—Although the percentage of illiteracy shows an improvement this year over last, it should be remembered that these figures are based upon the manifests, which in turn are made up from the statements of the immigrants. One test recently made at New York showed that 175 immigrants listed as able to read and write were, in fact, illiterate. The recent agitation for an educational test for immigrants has undoubtedly made the latter more disposed to assert their ability to read and write.

NOTE 3.—“Northern and Western Europe” includes the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Scandinavia, Belgium, Netherlands and Switzerland. This group is the same as “Teutonic and Keltic races,” with the exception that the latter group includes Northern Italians, and does not include Bohemians and Moravians.

NOTE 4.—“Southern and Eastern Europe” includes Austria-Hungary, Italy, Poland, Russia, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Turkey and the Balkan States. This group is the same as “Slavic and Iberic races,” except that the latter does not include Northern Italians, Magyars or Turks.

LARGEST ELEMENTS IN RECENT IMMIGRATION.

	1902.	1903.	1904.
Southern Italian	152,915	196,117	159,329
Hebrew	57,688	76,203	106,236
German	51,686	71,782	74,790
Polish	69,620	82,343	67,757
Scandinavian	55,780	79,347	61,029

IMMIGRATION OF 1904 BY RACIAL DIVISIONS

	Number	Per cent. of Total Immigration
Slavic	272,396	33.5
Teutonic	195,287	24.0
Iberic	186,607	22.9
Keltic	98,635	12.1
Mongolic	20,616	2.5
All others	39,329	4.8

The Burdens of Immigration.

[Compiled from Commissioner-General's Report for 1904.]

ALIEN INMATES OF PENAL, REFORMATORY AND CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES.

Penal Institutions	9,825
Insane Institutions	19,764
Charitable Institutions	15,396
Total	44,985

Note that these figures include only inmates of institutions supported by the public, and do not include foreign-born citizens.

Note that of these 44,985 alien dependents and delinquents, 26,890 or more than half were found in Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania and Illinois.

Although Slavic and Iberic immigration (from Southern and Eastern Europe) is of relatively recent arrival, its proportion of criminals among all alien inmates of penal, reformatory and charitable institutions, and the proportion of all alien inmates for the different racial divisions was as follows:

Race Division	Proportion of all alien inmates	Proportion of alien inmates who are criminals	Proportion of alien inmates arrived within 5 years
Iberic	9	39	47
Slavic	14	25	40
Teutonic	38	17	15
Keltic	33	15	7
Average		22	21

These figures show that the recent immigration furnishes the largest proportion of criminals among its dependent and delinquent classes; also that the races constituting the bulk of the recent immigration becomes dependent and delinquent sooner than the other races.

The average cost of supporting a dependent or delinquent is not far from \$150.00 per year. At this figure our *alien* dependents and delinquents in public institutions *alone* cost us \$6,750,000 per year; and as their average expectation of life is about 12 years, their total cost, if they all remained for life in these institutions, would be about \$75,000,000. A large proportion of them will spend the rest of their lives or a considerable part of their lives in these public institutions.

Considering only the insane and charitable institutions, it appears that an alien population which is only 1.3 per cent of the total population furnishes 12 per cent of the inmates of these institutions. If we consider the foreign-born, it appears that they furnish 8 per thousand while the native-born furnish only 2 1-2 per thousand to these institutions.

ILLITERACY.

Number of persons in each hundred immigrants over fourteen years of age who, *according to their own statement*, cannot write, or cannot read and write, their own language, from those races (*not nations*) which contributed upwards of 2,000 immigrants to the United States during any of the past three fiscal years:

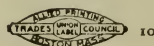
NORTHERN AND WESTERN EUROPE (Chiefly Teutonic and Keltic)							1902	1903	1904
Scotch	.	.	.	.	.	.	1.2	1.2	0.6
Scandinavian	.	.	.	.	.	.	0.5	0.6	0.7
English	.	.	.	.	.	.	1.9	1.6	1.3
Bohemian and Moravian	.	.	.	.	.	.	1.6	1.6	1.8
Finnish	.	.	.	.	.	.	1.4	2.2	2.7
French	.	.	.	.	.	.	4.8	3.8	3.2
Irish	.	.	.	.	.	.	3.9	3.8	3.4
Dutch and Flemish	.	.	.	.	.	.	7.6	6.9	4.1
German	.	.	.	.	.	.	5.4	4.6	4.8
Italian (North)	.	.	.	.	.	.	14.4	12.7	12.6
Average of above							4.4	3.9	4.0

SOUTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE (Chiefly Slavic and Iberic)

Spanish	.	.	.	.	.	.	—	8.9	9.8
Magyar	.	.	.	.	.	.	13.3	10.5	14.1
Greek	.	.	.	.	.	.	30.0	27.7	23.6
Russian	.	.	.	.	.	.	—	31.9	26.0
Slovak	.	.	.	.	.	.	25.9	21.6	27.9
Roumanian	.	.	.	.	.	.	28.3	21.5	31.7
Dalmatian, Bosnian and Herzegovinian	.	.	.	.	.	.	—	—	35.6
Polish	.	.	.	.	.	.	38.4	32.1	35.8
Croatian and Slovenian	.	.	.	.	.	.	42.2	35.2	36.1
Bulgarian, Servian, Montenegrin	.	.	.	.	.	.	—	44.7	45.4
Lithuanian	.	.	.	.	.	.	54.1	46.6	54.1
Italian (South)	.	.	.	.	.	.	56.4	51.4	54.2
Ruthenian	.	.	.	.	.	.	50.0	49.4	58.8
Portuguese	.	.	.	.	.	.	71.6	73.2	67.5
Average of above							44.3	39.7	42.6

OTHER RACES.

Chinese	.	.	.	.	.	.	—	12.9	8.2
Cuban	.	.	.	.	.	.	8.0	4.2	8.7
Japanese	.	.	.	.	.	.	1.2	27.0	21.6
Hebrew	.	.	.	.	.	.	28.6	26.5	23.3
African (black)	.	.	.	.	.	.	—	32.5	23.7
Syrian	.	.	.	.	.	.	51.0	53.8	54.7



The Immigration Restriction League was organized for the purpose of improving and regulating alien immigration into the United States.

NOTE:—The following extracts are from an article by Mr. Broughton Brandenburg, published in *Charities* (New York), Vol. 14, pp. 896-9, July, 1905. Mr. Brandenburg has made detailed personal studies of alien immigration, and is the author of a book, *Imported Americans*, published by F. A. Stokes Co., New York.

Underground Immigration.

Ignorance on the part of resourceful people is bad; short-sightedness is worse. The short-sightedness displayed by prominent foreign-born Americans in the matter of immigration is one of the most discouraging things I have encountered in a purely impersonal attempt to better alien conditions. The influential Italian believes in keeping out all the trachomatous Jews, immoral French, physically deficient Hungarians, but cannot see why the cousin of his brother-in-law should not come into the United States just because he "got into a little trouble in the old country and went to jail for ten years." The influential Jew thinks all the murderous Italians, dissolute Slavs, contract laborers from Hungary, etc., should be barred, but the poor, broken, worthless, spiritless Jew of his tribe should be let through, even if the first Jew pays \$10,000 a year to help support the societies that bring him. The French liquor dealer who heads the little *sub rosa* syndicate for the distribution of immoral women, raves over the terrible damage being done to this country by the influx of a million people a year. One and all forget the proverb of the goose and the gander.

The decent foreign-born Americans should combine to keep out the undesirable regardless of nationality, family relations, or business interests, because in the long run the reactionary effect strikes first the foreign-born citizen. The Jewish charities carry an awful burden rather than see some of their people uncared for. The great mass of the hard-working and honest Italians suffer black opprobrium because they have helped to get the thieves, murderers and Mafusi into the country and now the leeches are preying upon them. Just so it goes.

The vile parasites prey first on the people of their own blood. If the Italians, Jews, Hungarians and all the others would stop trying to run their friends and relatives through by the underground railway, would inform on those already illegally here, the situation could be clarified. But that is hope-

less. It is a voluntary movement which is nearly impossible. The only thing to do is to close off the avenues with a strong hand.

If a water pipe had burst in my house I should not dance about pointing to the damage it was doing, or try to stop the leak with chewing gum and blotting paper; I should go into the basement and turn off the water. . . .

In this brief article I wish particularly to summarize some known things about underground immigration and to give the result of some of my recent investigations. . . . With but twelve million foreign-born out of eighty million people in the United States, in round numbers, more than half of the objects of charity are aliens by birth. At present immigration is responsible for seventy-four per cent. in the increase in population, and ninety-five per cent. of the beggars rounded up on the streets in Philadelphia were found to be aliens. Nothing more need be said to command the alert attention of honest charity.

Last winter when the steerage rate war was on, the greatest masses of scrap material for nation building reached this country that were ever loaded upon a good-natured government. But they, as a first effect, were as nothing to the greater effect of that rate war, and Roosevelt's election, combined with the Russo-Japanese struggle. A mighty impetus was given to a body of millions of immigrants who have not as yet begun to arrive. For years they have been intending to come to America, but the rate war, Roosevelt's election and the troubles in Russia have precipitated them, and they would be swelling the tide this very minute if the rise in rates and the absolute refusal of sub-agents to sell tickets to less desirable persons until the annual rush of Italians is over, had not temporarily checked them. By the same process of calculation based on information from foreign correspondents, which allowed me to predict last fall that this year's immigration would run to a million, a statement generally ridiculed at the time but verified since, I am convinced that there is going to be a heavy fall rush of the poorest immigrants we have ever received, with a sustaining of the winter traffic and another big year in 1906 if industrial prosperity in the United States continues.

First I should state what I mean by a "good" or "poor" immigrant. An immigrant is more or less good according to his or her ability and willingness to earn his or her own living, now or in the future, and obey the laws. That covers the whole case. That shuts out the criminal, diseased, physically and mentally deficient, immoral and politically undesirable classes. Every poor immigrant is sooner or later, directly or indirectly, certain to become a charge upon society. While two-thirds of our national material resources remain undeveloped there should be no thought of shutting out good immigrants who are willing to assist in the development of them. . . .

So it is not on the man who is willing and able to work and attend to his own affairs that attention must be centered. It is to his crippled brother and

his thieving cousin to whom he sends prepaid tickets in the days of his prosperity, that we must turn an anxious eye. During the past eight months I have watched with concerned interest the visible day by day increase in the foreign quarters to which I am accustomed to going in eastern cities, of the crippled, club-footed, cross-eyed, one-eyed, anemic, scrofulous, decrepit, hollow-chested, and variously diseased recruits to the colony. Where I see eight on Wednesday I see ten on Saturday. They are not at this moment paupers as a rule. They have relatives who have stated to the immigration authorities that they, the relatives, have means and are willing to care for and support these unfortunate newcomers, who even though they may now be able to make their own way, come to us as ready-made subjects for our charitable care should their relatives cast them off after they have been here long enough to obtain a legal residence. These physically deficient persons cannot enter the country unless their relatives and friends show that they are not going to allow them to become public charges. But what happens if misfortune overtakes the bread-winner of the family or he grows tired of his burden? It is off to the almshouses, asylums and hospitals for the helpless relatives.

The bringing in of physically deficient immigrants whose shortcomings are not easily detected in the hasty examination that can be given them is one method of underground immigration, but the most vicious form is the careful preparation for concealment which is done abroad. I had a case under examination not long since of a middle-aged German woman with a dropsical affection. She had been in free clinics and wards in Frankfort, and in some way was supplied with the means to come to the United States on a "two-pound" ticket. A young German posed as her son when she passed through Ellis Island. The poor creature underwent an operation a week before she sailed that reduced her distension sufficiently for her to pass the doctors, but she became worse after the temporary relief, went to a Baltimore hospital and died there. Just a few weeks ago a Russian Jew, three weeks in the country, went to Bellevue Hospital in New York to be treated for eczema. After he had exposed several persons in the hospital, and no one knows how many outside, to contagion, he was found to have leprosy. It was the first case at the hospital in years. On being questioned he said he had been coached to conceal the signs of his terrible malady when passing through Ellis Island. How many people did he contaminate in the closely crowded quarters of the steerage?

A number of times I have made statements concerning the sheltering, doctoring up and coaching of poor Jews in London and on the continent, only to have those statements indignantly repudiated by Jews in a position to know whether they were true or not. Some months since, at a conference of Jewish societies at Frankfort-on-the-Main these operations were as openly discussed as the sending of missionaries would be by a Methodist conference. No less a person than Arnold White, after an investigation, finds that London is but a

way station for thousands of indigent and physically deficient Jews, who remain long enough to be put in shape for the examination at Ellis Island. They are looked after by the international Jewish organizations. Hear the Jews protest: "we take care of our own." All credit for that, but we do not want people who have to be taken care of. They are not good stock, they are not good stuff, and I do not care how well-intentioned or how eminently respectable the people are who are supporting this underground immigration of the poor Jews. They are breaking the laws of the United States.

Through western Pennsylvania scores of cases have been cropping up of insane and idiotic Hungarians and Austrians found wandering about the towns and villages. Investigation proved that nearly all had been in the country less than eight months, that many had been insane for years, and the conclusion was that they were part and parcel of thousands of insane and idiotic persons turned over to the Cunard Line to fill the contract which the Hungarian government secretly made with it, to supply all Hungarian immigrants to the line with an alleged minimum number of 30,000. This contract was disclosed by Marcus Braun, special immigration inspector in Europe.

On my second visit to Naples, I found such unmistakable evidences of underground immigration that I could not see how it was possible for the operatives to go long undiscovered. I succeeded in breaking up one gang of twenty confining its efforts to the purely local operation of getting immigrants from all of the disease-laden centers of southern Europe aboard ship without having their baggage inspected and fumigated, and from time to time have sent a keen correspondent tips to lead him to tap the main line of the underground railway. About May 12 the grand disclosure came. Forty-two immigrant lodging-house keepers were found to have formed a pool, and sent out clever agents to all parts of Italy to recruit the epileptic, periodically insane, crippled, trachomatous, and criminal persons who desired to come to the United States and had feared to attempt it, or had been debarred at Naples or Ellis Island. For from \$40 to \$160, the amount dependent on how difficult the case was or how much money the emigrant and his relatives could raise, the agents guaranteed to get them into this country. Hundreds of them had been despatched, after being doctored up, coached, prepared and even fitted with papers, and all would have worked well if the crowds on the steamers had not been so great that the steamship companies got shiploads of sound immigrants without bringing the decrepit, and so the engineers of the underground were compelled to wait. Some of the people they were shipping grew suspicious at the delay, complained to the police, and the police after some sleuthing arrested the promoters, not for smuggling emigrants, but for failing to "deliver the goods." These arrests will not interfere with the resumption of the undergrounding.

While making investigations in Mexico in February and March as to why the tide of undesirable immigrants that had been stopped from coming in over

the Canadian border by the work of Commissioner Robert Watchorn, had taken to the Mexican border, I found one of the main lines of underground for the very worst immigrants. For weeks I cross-hatched Vera Cruz and Mexico City knowing that the line must run there if it existed. At last, while in the eastern part of the city one evening, I saw a long file of immigrants issuing from the station of the Interoceanic Railway. Following them on foot, I found they were led to a house, normally an ill-named establishment at No. 11 Cerca San Lorenzo. In that place and the one adjoining I found more than one hundred men, women and children, including idiots, leperoids, trachomatous persons, etc., and proved the establishment to be the central station on the underground from which the people were smuggled over the Rio Grande in small parties. To make this impossible it would require a staff of five hundred mounted inspectors on the border.

NOTE.—The foregoing account, embodying the results of the author's personal investigations, shows the need of amending our immigration laws in two very important respects.

1. **THE HEAD-TAX SHOULD BE RAISED.** A head-tax of fifty cents on each immigrant was imposed by act of Congress in 1882. It was later raised to one dollar, and the act of March 3, 1903, increased it to two dollars. This money is paid by the steamship companies and is simply added to the price of the passage ticket. The immigrant himself knows nothing of the payment. The head-tax is paid into the United States treasury, forming what is known as the "immigrant fund," and is spent in maintaining the immigration service. This head-tax should be increased to twenty-five dollars. The chief reason for advocating such an increase is that we have no other means of keeping the steerage passage rate to the United States at a figure which brings it somewhere near the rate to South America and other countries to which immigrants are likely to go. When a steamship war is on, the steerage rates may drop to ten dollars, or even less, as they did in the summer of 1904, and as they seem likely to do again. Such a reduction immediately brings a large influx of desperately poor and generally undesirable aliens, as was the case last year. An increased head-tax means a larger "immigrant fund," and that means more effective administration of existing laws, and better care of the immigrants. It is objected to an increased head-tax that the honesty and character of an immigrant do not depend upon his ability to pay a certain sum of money, and that undesirable persons, criminals for example, might easily pay the tax. In answer to this objection it need only be pointed out that the higher head-tax is not to be substituted for the other restrictive clauses of existing law; it is to be added to them. Criminals are already excluded by law. They would be excluded—if

detected—even if they could pay the extra passage money necessitated by a larger head-tax. An increased head-tax is intended as a means—the only means within our reach—of keeping the steerage passage above the level of pauper rates, and is one of the few practicable methods of reducing the flow of undesirable immigration to a point where it can be properly assimilated. The United States should not be chosen by an immigrant, as it now often is, because it is the cheapest country to go to. It should be selected because it is the best, and by those who want the best. A head-tax of twenty-five dollars was not desirable years ago. It becomes more and more necessary as the increasing facilities of land and water transportation make it easier and cheaper to come here. The tax would not act as a permanent and insuperable barrier to desirable aliens, for any hard-working and ambitious man or woman who wanted to come here could earn the extra money. It would doubtless deter many of the shiftless and incompetent, and it would prevent such shipments of paupers and criminals as are now known to have been made with the connivance, if not at the expense, of the authorities abroad.

2. WE SHOULD EXCLUDE ALIENS OF POOR PHYSIQUE.¹ It is high time that aliens of poor physique should be debarred from our shores. When we raise horses, or cattle, or dogs, or sheep, we select good, strong, healthy stock. If we have any concern for the physical development of our race, we should certainly be no less careful in the selection of our human stock. With the change in the racial character of our immigration in recent years there has come a marked deterioration in the general physique of the immigrants. At the present time our medical inspectors record thousands of aliens as being of such poor physique that their ability to earn a living is thereby interfered with, yet most of these are admitted because there is no specific clause in our existing immigration law under which they can clearly and surely be excluded, and because the proffered financial assistance of a friend or relative is allowed to offset the fact of poor physique. The physique of an immigrant is a matter of the very highest importance for the health and future of the race. It is the aliens of poor physique who usually shun the country, and crowd into city tenements, “where they become ready victims of diseases and establish in these crowded quarters dangerous foci for the dissemination of disease.” “The real danger to the public health, and to the future of our stock, lies in that class of immigrants whose physique is much below American standards.”

1 A certificate of poor physique “implies that the alien concerned is afflicted with a body but ill adapted not only to the work necessary to earn his bread but is also but poorly able to withstand the onslaught of disease. It means that he is undersized, poorly developed, with feeble heart action, arteries below the standard size; that he is physically degenerate, and as such not only unlikely to become a desirable citizen, but also very likely to transmit his undesirable qualities to his offspring, should he, unfortunately for the country in which he is domiciled, have any.”—[Official definition of poor physique.]

Our best insurance against race decadence is to be sought in the selection of good, strong, healthy stock. We want none but honest, industrious, healthy and fit immigrants, and we can get them if we exclude the others. We want them sound in body and sound in mind. We have by law debarred those of unsound mind. Our next step should be to debar those of poor physique. A reasonable, wise and necessary addition to our immigration laws would be the exclusion of persons physically weak or defective so that they are wholly or partially disabled from manual labor, or so that their ability to earn a living in any trade or occupation upon which such persons are dependent is thereby affected, whether that trade or occupation involves hard physical effort or not.

For publications and membership in the Immigration Restriction League, address PRESCOTT F. HALL, Secretary, 60 State St., Boston. The dues for membership are as follows: For *annual* membership, one dollar, payable in advance upon admission and upon January 1st of each year; for *life* membership, ten dollars, payable upon admission, life members being exempt from annual dues.

The League is a strictly non-partisan and non-sectarian organization, with members from all parts of the United States. It advocates a stricter regulation of immigration, but not the exclusion of any immigrants whose character and standards fit them to become citizens.

Immigration Figures for 1905

(From data furnished by the Commissioner-General of Immigration.)

Comparison of the Fiscal Years ending June 30, 1904 and 1905

	1904.	1905
Total Immigration. [<i>See Note 1</i>]	812,870	1 026,499
Number debarred from entrance and returned within one year after landing	8,773	12,724
Per cent. debarred and returned	1.1	1.2
Number of illiterates over 14 years of age. [<i>See Note 2.</i>]	172,856	239,091
Per cent. of illiterate in total immigration over 14 years of age	24.6	26.2
Immigration of "Teutonic and Keltic races," chiefly from "Northern and Western Europe," [<i>See Note 3.</i>]	293,922	345,237
Per cent. of total immigration	36.1	34.6
Immigration of "Slavic and Iberic races," chiefly from "Southern and Eastern Europe," [<i>See Note 4.</i>]	459,003	598,480
Per cent. of total Immigration	56.5	58.3
Immigration from Asia	26,186	23,925
Per cent. of total immigration	3.2	2.3
Average money brought, in dollars	26	24 50
Per cent. of immigrants who have been in the United States before	12.8	17.1
Per cent. of total immigration having no occupation, including women and children	26.4	22.6
Per cent. of total immigration who were farm-laborers, laborers or servants	49.4	54.1
Per cent. of total immigration destined for the four States of Ill., Mass., N. Y. and Pa.	64.6	65.3
Per cent. of total immigration destined for the states east of the Mississippi River and north of the Potomac and Ohio Rivers	89.9	91.3
Per cent. of total immigration destined for the Southern and Western States	10.1	8.7

NOTE 1.—The figures for 1905 do not include 126,296 persons admitted as citizens, nor 33,256 "aliens in transit."

NOTE 2.—It should be remembered that the figures of illiteracy are based upon the manifests, which in turn are made up from the statements of the immigrants. One test recently made at New York showed that 175 immigrants listed as able to read and write were, in fact, illiterate. The recent agitation for an educational test for immigrants has undoubtedly made the latter more disposed to assert their ability to read and write.

NOTE 3.—The group "Teutonic and Keltic Races" is the same as the group "Northern and Western Europe," with the exception that the former includes Northern Italians, and does not include Bohemians and Moravians. The latter group is composed of the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Scandinavia, Belgium, Netherlands and Switzerland.

NOTE 4.—The group "Slavic and Iberic Races" is the same as "Southern and Eastern Europe" except that the former does not include Northern Italians, Magyars or Turks. The latter group embraces Austria-Hungary, Italy, Poland, Russia, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Turkey, and the Balkan States.

LARGEST ELEMENTS IN RECENT IMMIGRATION.

	1902.	1903.	1904.	1905.
Southern Italian	152,915	196,117	159,329	185,445
Hebrew	57,688	76,203	106,236	129,910
German	51,686	71,782	74,790	82,360
Polish	69,620	82,343	67,757	102,437
Scandinavian	55,780	79,347	61,029	62,284

IMMIGRATION OF 1905 BY RACIAL DIVISIONS.

	Number	Per cent. of Total Immigration.
Slavic	384,679	37.3
Teutonic	221,019	21.5
Iberic	213,801	20.8
Keltic	124,218	12.1
Mongolic	17,921	1.7
All others	64,861	6.3

The Burdens of Immigration.

[Compiled from Commissioner-General's Report for 1905.]

ALIEN INMATES OF PENAL, REFORMATORY AND CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES.

Penal Institutions	9,825
Insane Institutions	19,764
Charitable Institutions	15,396
Total	44,985

Note that these figures include only inmates of institutions supported by the public, and do not include foreign-born citizens.

Note that of these 44,985 alien dependents and delinquents, 26,890 or more than half were found in Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania and Illinois.

Although Slavic and Iberic immigration (from Southern and Eastern Europe) is of relatively recent arrival, its proportion of criminals among all alien inmates of penal, reformatory and charitable institutions, and the proportion of all alien inmates for the different racial divisions was as follows:

Race Division	Proportion of all alien Inmates	Proportion of alien Inmates who are criminals	Proportion of alien Inmates arrived within 5 years
Iberic	9	39	47
Slavic	14	25	40
Teutonic	38	17	15
Keltic	33	15	7
Average		22	21

These figures show that the recent immigration furnishes the largest proportion of criminals among its dependent and delinquent classes; also that the races constituting the bulk of the recent immigration becomes dependent and delinquent sooner than the other races.

The average cost of supporting a dependent or delinquent is not far from \$150.00 per year. At this figure our *alien* dependents and delinquents in public institutions *alone* cost us \$6,750,000 per year; and as their average expectation of life is about 12 years, their total cost, if they all remained for life in these institutions, would be about \$75,000,000. A large proportion of them will spend the rest of their lives or a considerable part of their lives in these public institutions.

Considering only the insane and charitable institutions, it appears that an alien population which is only 1.3 per cent of the total population furnishes 12 per cent of the inmates of these institutions. If we consider the foreign-born, it appears that they furnish 8 per thousand while the native-born furnish only 2 1-2 per thousand to these institutions.

ILLITERACY.

Number of persons in each hundred immigrants over fourteen years of age who, *according to their own statement*, cannot write, or cannot read and write, their own language, from those races (*not nations*) which contributed upwards of 2,000 immigrants to the United States during any of the past three fiscal years:

NORTHERN AND WESTERN EUROPE (Chiefly Teutonic and Keltic)	1903	1904	1905
Scotch	1.2	0.6	0.7
Scandinavian	0.6	0.7	0.6
English	1.6	1.3	1.3
Bohemian and Moravian	1.6	1.8	1.7
Finnish	2.2	2.7	1.8
French	3.8	3.2	2.7
Irish	3.8	3.4	3.8
Dutch and Flemish	6.9	4.1	5.3
German	4.6	4.8	4.2
Italian (North)	12.7	12.6	14.0
Average of above	3.9	4.0	3.7

SOUTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE (Chiefly Slavic and Iberic)			
Spanish	8.9	9.8	10.1
Magyar	10.5	14.1	11.6
Greek	27.7	23.6	22.4
Russian	31.9	26.0	30.8
Slovak	21.6	27.9	25.0
Roumanian	21.5	31.7	28.8
Dalmatian, Bosnian and Herzegovinian	—	35.6	38.4
Polish	32.1	35.8	39.6
Croatian and Slovenian	35.2	36.1	38.2
Bulgarian, Servian, Montenegrin	44.7	45.4	38.9
Lithuanian	46.6	54.1	56.9
Italian (South)	51.4	54.2	56.4
Ruthenian	49.4	58.8	62.6
Portuguese	73.2	67.5	66.7
Average of above	39.7	42.6	42.2

OTHER RACES.			
Chinese	12.9	8.2	5.0
Cuban	4.2	8.7	7.7
Japanese	27.0	21.6	39.3
Hebrew	26.5	23.3	23.3
African (black)	32.5	23.7	15.8
Syrian	53.8	54.7	53.6

Synopsis of Certain Immigration Bills in the 59th Congress

THE SENATE BILL

The Dillingham Bill (Senate Bill 4403, Report No. 2186), to amend the Immigration Act of March 3, 1903, passed the Senate May 23, 1906. The principal changes which it makes in the present law are as follows :—

SECTION 1 increases the duty on alien passengers, except citizens of the United States, Canada, Newfoundland, Mexico and Cuba, from two dollars to five dollars.

SECTION 2 adds to the excluded classes, among others, —
(a) imbeciles, feeble-minded persons, epileptics ;
(b) “persons not comprehended within any of the foregoing excluded classes, who are found to be and are certified by the examining surgeon as being mentally or physically defective, such mental or physical defect being of a nature which may affect the ability of such alien to earn a living.”

NOTE.— This is what is usually called the “poor physique” clause. Its adoption has been urged by immigration officials, and by the National Conference on Immigration in New York, December, 1905.

(c) Children under 17 years of age, unaccompanied by their parents, unless coming to join parents, or, if the parents are dead, brothers or sisters who are ready and able to support them.

NOTE.— This is intended to prevent the importation of boys to work under the padrone system and of girls for immoral purposes.

(d) Those assisted by others to come, unless they prove they are not within the other excluded classes : “ but this section shall not be held to prevent citizens of the United States, or persons living in the United States who have declared their intention to become citizens of the United States, or women who have acquired a domicile in the United States, from sending for parents, wife, husband, children, brothers or sisters who are not of the foregoing excluded classes.”

NOTE.— Probably about one half of all immigrants do not pay their own passages, i. e., are assisted to come. The object of this clause is to limit the privilege of “ assisting ” to such relatives as are likely to show an interest in the immigrants and to be responsible for their welfare after they arrive. It is believed that this provision would do much to diminish the number of those who become public charges.

SECTION 20 extends the time within which those becoming public charges may be deported to three years (it is now two years), the same as in the case of persons entering in violation of law.

SECTION 29 adds to the excluded classes “ all persons over sixteen years of age and physically capable of reading, who cannot read the English language or some other language ; but an admissible immigrant or a person now in or hereafter admitted to this country may bring in or send for his wife, his children under eighteen years of age, and his parents or grandparents over fifty years of age, whether they are so able to read or not.”

NOTE.— The statistics show that in general there is a close correspondence between ignorance of language and ignorance of a trade, poverty, tendency to settle in the slums of large cities, failure to settle permanently or to become naturalized, and general difficulty of assimilation. The illiteracy test has passed the House four times and the Senate three times in recent years. It has been recommended by Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt and by the Commissioner General of Immigration, and over 4,000 petitions in its favor were sent to the 57th Congress.

THE HOUSE BILL

The Gardner Bill, H. R., 18,673, was reported by the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, April 27, 1906. This bill also raised the duty on alien passengers to five dollars. It excluded epileptics, feeble-minded persons, imbeciles and unaccompanied children, and those whose passage was paid by any corporation, association, society, municipality or government. It extended the period of deportation for public charges to three years, excluded illiterates, and defined as liable to become public charges those not having in their possession certain amounts of money.

As this bill was passed by the House, the illiteracy and money tests and the increase of the duty were omitted.

Both bills are now before the Conference Committee, which is expected to report in December next.

For the text of these bills address the File Clerk, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

For other information address the Immigration Restriction League, 60 State Street, Boston, Mass.

ALIEN DEPENDENTS AND DELINQUENTS.

Male Prisoners

Per Million of Voting Population, 1890.

Native white, native parents	.	.	.	.	2,282
Native white, foreign parents	.	.	.	.	6,742
Foreign white	.	.	.	.	3,270

Note : that the foreign whites are nearly one and one half times as criminal as the native whites of native parentage; and that the second generation of immigrants are three times as criminal as the native whites of native parentage and more than twice as criminal as the foreign whites.

Male Juvenile Prisoners

Per Million of Male Population of School Age in North Atlantic Division.

Native white, native parents	.	.	.	.	855
Native white, foreign parents	.	.	.	.	2,740
Foreign white	.	.	.	.	2,252

Note : that the foreign whites are nearly three times as criminal as the native whites of native parentage, and that the native-born children of immigrants are one fourth more criminal than the immigrants themselves, and nearly three and a half times as criminal as the children of natives.

New York.

In 1906, 60 per cent of the population of Elmira Reformatory were foreign-born, the foreign-born being only 26 per cent of the population of the State.

In 1892 the foreign-born constituted 39 per cent of all persons in the penitentiary; 74 per cent of those in the city prison; 59 per cent of those in the workhouse. In 1890 the proportion of foreign-born in the city was 42 per cent. The superintendent of the workhouse estimated that 90 per cent of the native-born in the workhouse were of foreign parentage.

Massachusetts.

In 1895 the commitments to all prisons were: —

Native birth, native parents	.	.	.	.	4,087
Foreign birth, foreign parents	.	.	.	.	12,781
Foreign birth, total	.	.	.	.	22,134

Note: that the foreign-born, who in 1890 were less than one third of the total population, furnished three times as many prisoners as those of native birth and parentage; and that the foreign element furnished five and a half times as many prisoners as the native element.

Insanity and Disease.

In 1890 a total foreign-born population, which was 14.77 per cent of the total population, furnished 33.2 per cent of the insane in the United States, or two and one third times its normal proportion.

The thirty-fifth report of the Presbyterian Hospital (New York City) showed that 1,417 out of 3,026 patients, or nearly one half, were of foreign birth. The one hundred and fourth report of the Lying-in Hospital (New York City) showed that of 2,595 out-door patients 2,280 were foreign-born.

Pauperism.

In 1890 those of foreign white parentage, who were 38 per cent of the total white population, furnished 58 per cent of the white paupers of the United States. In 1890, of male paupers per million of voting population in the North Atlantic Division, 2,096 were native whites of native parentage, as compared with 6,435 of foreign birth or parentage.

In 1904, a foreign-born population which was 15.3 per cent of the white general population furnished 43.2 per cent of the white pauper population. The native white paupers of foreign or mixed parentage admitted to all the almshouses of the United States during 1904 were 26.8 per cent of the total paupers as compared with 19.4 per cent among the inmates enumerated December 31, 1903.

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Keltic	33	15	7
Average		22	21

These figures show that the recent immigration furnishes the largest proportion of criminals among its dependent and delinquent classes ; also that the races constituting the bulk of the recent immigration become dependent and delinquent sooner than the other races.

The average cost of supporting a dependent or delinquent is not far from \$150.00 per year. At this figure our *alien* dependents and delinquents in public institutions *alone* cost us \$6,750,000 per year; and as their average expectation of life is about 12 years, their total cost, if they all remained for life in these institutions, would be about \$75,000,000. A large proportion of them will spend the rest of their lives, or a considerable part of their lives, in these public institutions.

Considering only the insane and charitable institutions, it appears that an alien population which is only 1.3 per cent of the total population furnishes 12 per cent of the inmates of these institutions. If we consider the foreign-born, it appears that they furnish eight per thousand while the native-born furnish only two and a half per thousand to these institutions.

For further information address the

IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION LEAGUE,

60 State Street, Boston, Mass.

BRIEF IN FAVOR OF SENATE BILL 4403.

To amend an ACT entitled "AN ACT to regulate the immigration of aliens into the United States," approved March third, nineteen hundred and three.

Senate Bill 4403 (Report No. 2186), commonly known as the Dillingham Bill, passed the Senate without division May 23, 1906; and, in June, went to conference between the two houses of Congress.

Senator Dillingham, chairman of the Senate Committee on Immigration, said of this measure, in the Senate, on May 22, 1906, that it

"will go a long way in the direction of making perfect the already excellent Immigration Act of 1903, and I believe that it will not only eliminate from the class of aliens now coming pretty nearly all of the objectionable and defective ones, whether their defects be of mind, body, or of morals. More than this, I believe it will have the effect, not only of preventing the undesirable classes from entering the country, but of preventing them from ever leaving their native shores to cross the seas, only to find the doors of the United States hopelessly closed against them."

In the report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration for 1905 will be found these words:—

"The experience of another year * * * has * * * served to establish a stronger conviction of the magnitude and gravity of the problems presented by the growth of our alien population. These problems loom so largely in the prospect of our country that it may be said, without giving just cause to charge exaggeration, that all other questions of public economy, relating to things rather than to human beings, shrink into comparative insignificance." (Page 3.)

"It is impossible that such an influx can fail to produce material effects upon the institutions of this country, as it is doing upon the population. What such effects will probably be in the long run, it is not within the proper scope of this report to discuss; but attention is drawn to the subject to show that, if it is the public desire to establish some reasonable limitation on immigration, some restriction that will materially lessen the volume of the current until, by actual experience, assurance is secured of the safety of the institutions of the country under such an unexampled strain, it is time to make a new departure in legislating upon alien immigration. * * * It cannot be denied * * * that of such as are not expressly excluded by law, there are many aliens entering the United States who, if not individually open

to objection on the score of physical, mental or moral defects admitted of all men, are yet of such totally alien, if not repugnant, character and genius as to raise a doubt whether they will in the present or the succeeding generation become assimilated in customs and ideals to the people of this country. This view has found expression as yet in legislation affecting aliens of but one race. That solitary instance, however, is a recognition of the principle that the public welfare at this stage of the world's development demands the intervention of the law-making branch of the government to prevent an unrestricted irruption of elements hostile to our institutions, if not incapable of comprehending them." (Page 48.)

This bill makes changes in certain sections of the Act of March 3, 1903, as follows: —

Sect. 1. Increase of the duty on alien passengers, except citizens of the United States, Canada, Newfoundland, Mexico and Cuba, from two dollars to five dollars.

The receipts on account of the Immigrant Fund	
during 1905 amounted to	\$2,082,873.50
The expenditures, including those for special appro-	
priations, were	\$1,731,232.11
The balance at the end of the year was	\$1,841,044.53

It has been estimated, however, that from \$10,000,000 to \$15,000,000 is needed immediately to put the service into proper working order, and that the annual expenditure should be largely increased to secure proper inspection and deportation of aliens. Some of the items are the following:

- (a) Enlargement of immigrant stations. That at Ellis Island, New York, should be doubled in capacity. The overcrowding at present is a disgrace, and seriously handicaps efficient administration. What is true of New York is true in a less degree of the other existing ports.
- (b) The establishment of immigrant stations at Southern and Gulf ports, to the end that aliens may be better distributed.
- (c) The development and perfecting of the service along the Mexican and Canadian border. The adequate policing of these frontiers is an expensive and difficult matter.
- (d) Larger salaries for officers of the Immigration Service. Such an important matter as inspection of aliens should be intrusted only to the very best men available, and they should be well paid.
- (e) More inspectors, to care for the increasing tide of immigration and to prevent officers being overworked, as is often now the case, and for service at the new stations above referred to.

- (f) Provision for the distribution and employment bureaus at immigrant stations as contemplated in Section 26 of this bill.
- (g) Additional medical inspection abroad in countries which will permit such inspection.
- (h) Enlarged facilities in the offices of the various district attorneys in charge of the prosecution of immigration cases. This is an expense of the Department of Justice, but it really should be covered by the Immigrant Fund.
- (i) More complete statistical investigation and reports.
- (j) Securing in larger measure the deportation of those who become public charges after landing in this country.
- (k) An increased number of secret service agents abroad, to investigate conditions respecting immigration and see that the steamship companies live up to the law.

In addition to the need for increased funds, a larger duty would also tend (a) to diminish the total immigration to some extent, especially of the poorer and less effective elements; (b) to equalize the steerage rate between Europe and the United States and Europe and other countries, so that this country would not be, as now, the cheapest place to get to. With increasing facilities of transportation, the steerage passage should be maintained above pauper rates.

Sect. 2. Additions to the excluded classes, viz.: imbeciles, feeble-minded persons, epileptics.

At present idiots and insane persons are debarred, but imbeciles and feeble-minded persons come in and propagate a great deal of feeble-mindedness in their offspring, and also in many cases subsequently become insane. Thirty-eight per cent of the feeble-minded in the United States in 1904 were of foreign and mixed parentage.

Persons of poor physique.

The physique of immigrants has been degenerating, according to the surgeons of the Marine Hospital Service, since 1880, and the immigrant of poor physique is to-day usually admitted. Poor physique is more common among the races which have recently been coming to us in large numbers. Persons of this class are especially susceptible to tuberculosis and other diseases resulting from crowding in unsanitary dwellings. The exclusion of this class would supplement the exclusion of persons "liable to become public charges," many of the latter being now admitted on oral promises of friends and relatives to care for them, which promises are of no value and are largely disregarded. The best preventive of race

decadence is the selection of healthy stock. Those of unsound mind are already debarred, and we should equally debar those of unsound body. This provision was recommended by the National Conference on Immigration, held in New York, December, 1905.

Children under seventeen years of age unaccompanied by their parents, unless coming to join parents, or, if the parents are dead, brothers or sisters who are ready and able to support them.

The object of this provision is to prevent the importation of boys to work under the padrone system, and of girls for immoral purposes.

Limiting the privilege of assisting immigrants.

Under the present law "any friend or relative" may send for an immigrant. The Senate bill limits the classes of immigrants who may be assisted to "parents, wife, husband, children, grandchildren, brothers or sisters or children of deceased brothers and sisters," who are not of the excluded classes; and the privilege of assisting is limited to citizens, those intending to become citizens and women who have acquired a domicile here. Upwards of 50 per cent of the present immigration is assisted to come, and the object of this provision is to limit the privilege of sending to persons who are under some legal or moral obligation to support the immigrants after they arrive. Assisted immigrants are, as a rule, less energetic and capable than those who send for them, and many of them at present come on the public for support.

Sect. 9. Extension of fines upon steamship companies.

The present law imposes a fine of \$100 upon steamship lines bringing diseased immigrants, if the disease could have been detected at the port of departure. The proposed law imposes additional fines for bringing idiots, imbeciles, feeble-minded persons, insane persons or epileptics. In 1904, \$31,000 was collected in fines, and in 1905, after a year's experience, \$27,300 was collected. The Commissioner-General reports that 1,560 more diseased persons were brought in by steamship companies in 1905 than in 1904, or 41 per cent. While the proposed law does not increase the fine, the extension of the fine system to other classes would probably bring up the total of fines to a point where the companies would be obliged to refuse to take the immigrants objected to.

Sections 12 and 13 are amended so as to make the information given by the manifests more complete.

Section 12 also provides for statistics of aliens emigrating from the United States.

Sect. 18. Prevention of unlawful landing.

The bill requires the transportation companies to absolutely prevent the landing of aliens except in compliance with the law. At present the companies are only obliged to exercise due care.

Sect. 20. Deportation of public charges.

This provides a uniform period of three years within which both those entering in violation of law and those becoming public charges from causes arising prior to landing may be deported. It also provides that the transportation, including one half of the entire cost of removal to the port of deportation, shall be at the expense of the steamship company. This provision has received strong support from numerous charitable societies. The Industrial Commission recommended the extension of the period to five years, and that, in case immigrants became objectionable from causes arising subsequent to landing, their passage should be paid out of the Immigrant Fund.

The rest of S. 4403 consists of new provisions, the principal of which are as follows : —

Sect. 26. Division of information.

Authority is given to establish such a division to promote the beneficial distribution of aliens among the localities desiring immigration. Distribution of immigration has been urged by many persons as a solution of some of the present evils of overcrowding. In so far as the proposed provision can induce the scattering of aliens where their labor is desired, it should prove a valuable adjunct to the immigration laws and is certainly worth trying.

Sect. 29. Illiteracy test.

The bill adds to the excluded classes : —

“ All persons over sixteen years of age and physically capable of reading, who cannot read the English language or some other language ; but an admissible immigrant or a person now in or hereafter admitted to this country may bring in or send for his wife, his children under eighteen years of age, and his parents or grandparents over fifty years of age whether they are so able to read or not.”

The statistics show that, in general, there is a close correspondence between ignorance of language and ignorance of a trade, poverty, tendency to settle in the slums of large cities, failure to settle permanently or to become naturalized, and general difficulty of assimilation. The illiteracy test has passed the House four times and the Senate three times in recent years. It has been recommended by Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt, and by the Commissioner-General of Immigration, and over 4,000 petitions in its favor were sent to the Fifty-seventh Congress. It is not true that such a simple illiteracy test as is here proposed would interfere with the legitimate demand for labor in many parts of the country. It would, however, tend to improve very much the quality of immigration and promote assimilation. An illiteracy test would have excluded 29 per cent of those of foreign birth and parentage now in our hospitals, and a considerable percentage of our insane, paupers and criminals.

Conclusion.

While this bill contains a number of new provisions, its purpose is simply to make effective the principles of selection which were contemplated in the original Acts of 1882 and 1891. These provisions have received the endorsement of the most unprejudiced and the most trustworthy experts on the immigration question. Some or all of its provisions have been advocated by immigration officials, surgeons of the Marine Hospital Service, boards of charity and insanity, labor organizations, state legislatures, commercial organizations, immigration conferences, and thousands of societies and individuals who have been in touch with immigration matters. Many of its provisions have been passed by previous Congresses in one or both branches, or have been reported by previous immigration committees.

20-27, 3
GENERAL IMMIGRATION STATISTICS

**EFFECTS OF IMMIGRATION UPON THE
UNITED STATES**

AND

REASONS FOR FURTHER RESTRICTION

I. Figures as to Total Immigration.

(A.) IMMIGRATION BY DECADES, 1821 TO 1900.

(From Report of U. S. Industrial Commission, p. 267.)

[illegible]

Total, 1821-1900		19,115,221
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(From Reports of Commissioner-General.)

1901-1907	6,219,160
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Total, 1821-1907	.	.	.	.	.	.	25,334,381
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(B.) IMMIGRATION BY YEARS FROM 1885.

(From Reports of Superintendent and Commissioner-General of Immigration.)

1885	.	.	.	.	.	.	395,346
1886	.	.	.	.	.	.	334,203
1887	.	.	.	.	.	.	490,109
1888	.	.	.	.	.	.	546,889
1889	.	.	.	.	.	.	444,427
1890	.	.	.	.	.	.	455,302
1891	.	.	.	.	.	.	560,319
1892	.	.	.	.	.	.	579,663
1893	.	.	.	.	.	.	439,730
1894	.	.	.	.	.	.	285,631
1895	.	.	.	.	.	.	258,536
1896	.	.	.	.	.	.	343,267
1897	.	.	.	.	.	.	230,832
1898	.	.	.	.	.	.	229,299
1899	.	.	.	.	.	.	311,715

[The Cholera Year.

[Period of
Commercial
Depression.]

Immigration by Years from 1885 — Continued.

1900	.	.	.	.	.	.	448,572	
1901	.	.	.	.	.	.	487,918	
1902	.	.	.	.	.	.	648,743	
1903	.	.	.	.	.	.	857,046	
1904	.	.	.	.	.	.	812,870	
1905	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,026,499	} [Immigrant Aliens only.]
1906	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,100,735	
1907	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,285,349	

II. Recent Changes in the Race of Immigrants.

(Specially prepared for the League from Quarterly Report Bureau Statistics No. 2, Series 1892-1893, and Reports of Commissioner-General of Immigration.)

(A.) COMPARISON OF CERTAIN NATIONAL GROUPS.

						Per Cent of Immigrants from Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Russia in Total Immigration.*	Per Cent of Immigrants from United Kingdom, France, Germany, and Scandinavia in Total Immigration.
1869	.	.	.	.	.	0.9	73.8
1880	.	.	.	.	.	8.5	64.5
1890	.	.	.	.	.	34.0	57.7
1891	.	.	.	.	.	39.6	52.1
1892	.	.	.	.	.	44.8	53.9
1893	.	.	.	.	.	42.7	48.2
1894	.	.	.	.	.	42.6	47.9
1895	.	.	.	.	.	39.8	52.9
1896	.	.	.	.	.	53.9	38.5
1897	.	.	.	.	.	53.0	37.6
1898	.	.	.	.	.	57.9	33.3
1899	.	.	.	.	.	64.4	27.8
1900	.	.	.	.	.	66.7	25.3
1901	.	.	.	.	.	68.6	22.5
1902	.	.	.	.	.	70.6	20.3
1903	.	.	.	.	.	66.8	22.4
1904	.	.	.	.	.	63.4	25.0
1905	.	.	.	.	.	66.4	24.2
1906	.	.	.	.	.	68.5	18.3
1907	.	.	.	.	.	71.3	17.1

* Includes Poland to 1898.

Note.— In 1869, the immigrants from Austria-Hungary, Italy, Poland, and Russia were about 1-100th of the number from the United Kingdom, France, Germany, and Scandinavia; in 1880, about 1-10th; in 1894, nearly equal to it; in 1907, over four times as great.

(B.) COMPARISON OF CERTAIN RACIAL GROUPS.

Note.— In 1903, the Government adopted a further classification of immigrants by racial divisions, as follows:—

Teutonic division, from Northern Europe: German, Scandinavian, English, Dutch, Flemish and Finnish.

Keltic division, from Western Europe: Irish, Welsh, Scotch, French and North Italian.

Iberic division, from Southern Europe: South Italian, Greek, Portuguese and Spanish; also Syrian from Turkey in Asia.

Slavic division, from Eastern Europe: Bohemian, Moravian, Bulgarian, Servian, Montenegrin, Croatian, Slovenian, Dalmatian, Bosnian, Herzegovinian, Hebrew, Lithuanian, Polish, Roumanian, Russian, Ruthenian and Slovak.

Under this classification, immigration during the past four years may be divided by race, ignoring the countries from which the immigrants may happen to come, as follows:—

	Per Cent of Slavic and Iberic Immigrants in Total Immigration.	Per Cent of Teutonic and Keltic Immigrants in Total Immigration.
1904	56.5	36.1
1905	58.3	34.6
1906	62.9	30.0
1907	64.1	27.1

(C.) TOTAL IMMIGRATION OF ASIAN RACES.

1899	8,972	1904	26,186
1900	17,946	1905	23,925
1901	13,698	1906	22,300
1902	22,271	1907	40,524
1903	29,966		

(D.) THE LARGEST ELEMENTS IN IMMIGRATION AT PRESENT ARE:—

	1905.	1906.	1907.
Southern Italian	185,445	240,528	242,497
Hebrew	129,910	153,748	149,182
Polish	102,437	95,835	138,033
German	82,360	86,813	92,936
Magyar	46,030	44,261	60,071
Scandinavian	62,284	58,141	53,425

III. Conditions of Immigration.

(A.) AVERAGE MONEY SHOWN BY IMMIGRANTS.

1896	.	.	.	\$11	1902	.	.	.	\$16
1897	.	.	.	15	1903	.	.	.	19
1898	.	.	.	17	1904	.	.	.	26
1899	.	.	.	17	1905	.	.	.	24
1900	.	.	.	15	1906	.	.	.	23
1901	.	.	.	15	1907	.	.	.	20

MONEY BROUGHT BY THE SEVERAL RACES, 1900.

(Report of United States Industrial Commission, p. 284.)

RACES.	Amount of Money Shown Per Capita.
Scotch	\$41.51
Japanese	39.59
English	38.90
French	37.80
Greek	28.78
German	28.53
Bohemian and Moravian	23.12
Italian (Northern)	22.49
Dutch and Flemish	21.00
Cuban	19.34
Scandinavian	16.65
Russian	14.94
Irish	14.50
Syrian	14.31
Chinese	13.98
Finnish	13.06
Croatian and Slavonian	12.51
Slovak	11.69
Ruthenian (Russniak)	10.51
Portuguese	10.47
Magyar	10.39
Polish	9.94
Italian (Southern)	8.82
Hebrew	8.67
Lithuanian	7.96

(B.) PERCENTAGE OF IMMIGRANTS WHO HAVE BEEN IN THE UNITED STATES BEFORE.

1897	.	.	.	19.3	1903	.	.	.	8.9
1898	.	.	.	18.6	1904	.	.	.	12.8
1899	.	.	.	15.4	1905	.	.	.	17.1
1900	.	.	.	11.6	1906	.	.	.	12.1
1901	.	.	.	11.9	1907	.	.	.	6.8
1902	.	.	.	9.5					

(C.) PERCENTAGE OF IMMIGRANTS HAVING NO OCCUPATION, INCLUDING WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

1895	.	.	.	36.	1902	.	.	.	23.6
1896	.	.	.	36.	1903	.	.	.	23.3
1897	.	.	.	39.	1904	.	.	.	26.4
1898	.	.	.	39.4	1905	.	.	.	22.6
1899	.	.	.	35.1	1906	.	.	.	25.9
1900	.	.	.	30.1	1907	.	.	.	23.7
1901	.	.	.	30.5					

(D.) PERCENTAGE OF IMMIGRANTS WHO WERE FARM LABORERS, LABORERS, OR SERVANTS.

1895	.	.	.	42.	1902	.	.	.	60.6
1896	.	.	.	46.	1903	.	.	.	57.3
1897	.	.	.	40.	1904	.	.	.	49.4
1898	.	.	.	40.3	1905	.	.	.	54.1
1899	.	.	.	47.3	1906	.	.	.	52.8
1900	.	.	.	53.0	1907	.	.	.	57.3
1901	.	.	.	53.1					

(E.) ILLITERACY.

(1.) In General.

PER CENT OF ILLITERATE IN TOTAL IMMIGRATION.

				Over 15 Years of Age.					Over 15 Years of Age.
1895	.	.	.	20.	1897	.	.	.	23.
1896	.	.	.	29.					
				Over 14 Years of Age.					Over 14 Years of Age.
1898	.	.	.	23.	1903	.	.	.	25.0
1899	.	.	.	19.7	1904	.	.	.	24.6
1900	.	.	.	24.3	1905	.	.	.	26.2
1901	.	.	.	27.7	1906	.	.	.	27.9
1902	.	.	.	25.4	1907	.	.	.	29.9

(2.) Of Particular Groups.

(Compiled from the Reports of the Commissioner-General of Immigration.)~~PERCENTAGES OF ILLITERACY AMONG IMMIGRANTS FROM THOSE NATIONS OF EUROPE WHICH SENT UPWARDS OF 2,000 IMMIGRANTS TO THE UNITED STATES DURING THE FISCAL YEAR 1907.~~

Number of persons in each hundred immigrants over fourteen years of age who cannot write, or cannot read and write their own language, from those races (*not nations*) which contributed upwards of 2,000 immigrants to the United States during the past three fiscal years:—

WESTERN EUROPE.						1905.	1906.	1907.
Scotch	.	.	.	.	.	0.7	0.5	1.0
Scandinavian	.	.	.	.	.	0.6	0.5	1.1
English	.	.	.	.	.	1.3	1.0	1.4
Bohemian and Moravian	.	.	.	.	.	1.7	1.8	2.1
French	.	.	.	.	.	2.7	2.6	2.1
Irish	.	.	.	.	.	3.8	2.3	2.2
Finnish	.	.	.	.	.	1.8	1.5	3.1
Dutch and Flemish	.	.	.	.	.	5.3	4.0	4.2
German	.	.	.	.	.	4.2	5.0	7.0
Italian (North)	.	.	.	.	.	14.0	12.0	10.0
Average of above	.	.	.	.	.	3.7	3.7	4.3
EASTERN EUROPE (WITH SPAIN AND PORTUGAL).						1905.	1906.	1907.
Armenian	.	.	.	.	.	—	—	24.0
Spanish	.	.	.	.	.	10.1	9.8	33.5
Magyar	.	.	.	.	.	11.6	12.7	10.5
Greek	.	.	.	.	.	22.4	23.5	30.6
Russian	.	.	.	.	.	30.8	39.0	44.5
Slovak	.	.	.	.	.	25.0	22.0	21.5
Roumanian	.	.	.	.	.	28.8	36.5	39.3
Dalmatian, Bosnian and Herzegovinian	.	.	.	.	.	38.4	44.3	49.7
Polish	.	.	.	.	.	39.6	37.1	41.2
Croatian and Slovenian	.	.	.	.	.	38.2	39.9	36.4
Bulgarian, Servian, Montenegrin	.	.	.	.	.	38.9	41.8	44.8
Lithuanian	.	.	.	.	.	56.9	56.8	62.4
Italian (South)	.	.	.	.	.	56.4	53.8	53.3
Ruthenian	.	.	.	.	.	62.6	56.3	55.8
Portuguese	.	.	.	.	.	66.7	58.6	76.6
Average of above	.	.	.	.	.	42.2	42.0	42.2

Illiteracy — Continued.

OTHER RACES.	1905.	1906.	1907.
Chinese	5.0	—	—
Cuban	7.7	4.7	11.7
Japanese	39.3	42.7	31.2
Hebrew	23.3	27.0	29.0
African (black)	15.8	12.3	16.2
Syrian	53.6	54.8	55.1

Note: that the official figures as to illiteracy are not based upon actual tests, but depend for their accuracy upon the truth of the immigrants' answers to the questions put to them. If they were actually required by the inspectors to read and write before admission, the above figures of illiteracy would undoubtedly be larger.

IV. Effects of Immigration in the United States.

(A.) CRIME, INSANITY, AND PAUPERISM.

(1.) Crime.

According to *Census Special Reports*, "*Prisoners and Juvenile Delinquents in Institutions, 1904*" (pp. 18, 38, 232 and 237), a foreign-born white population ten years of age and over, which in 1900 was 19.5 per cent of such general white population, furnished 23.7 per cent of white prisoners enumerated June 30, 1904, and 23.4 per cent of the white prisoners committed during the year.

A foreign-born juvenile white population from ten to nineteen years of age, which in 1900 was 6.5 per cent of such general white population, furnished 9.4 per cent of delinquents enumerated June 30, 1904, and 11 per cent of those committed during 1904.

Of the total commitments in 1904, those of foreign birth or parentage constituted 39.7 per cent, while those of foreign parentage (practically those of foreign birth or parentage) constituted, in 1900, 27.5 per cent of the total population.

MAJOR WHITE OFFENDERS.

(*From above-mentioned report, p. 44.*)

The following table shows the percentage of the total commitments during 1904 for serious crimes of natives of such countries as furnished a larger proportion of commitments than their proportion of the population in 1900:—

(2.) Insanity.

Census Special Reports, "Insane and Feeble-Minded in Hospitals and Institutions, 1904," p. 20, shows that a white foreign-born population of ten years old and over, which in 1900 was 19.5 per cent of such general white population, furnished 34.3 per cent of white insane persons in hospitals in 1904, and 29.8 per cent of the admissions to such hospitals during 1904.

(3.) Pauperism.

Census Special Reports, "Paupers in Almshouses, 1904," pp. 16-18, shows that a foreign-born white population, which in 1900 was 15.3 per cent of the general white population, furnished 43.2 per cent of the white pauper population Dec. 31, 1903, and 43.0 per cent of those admitted to the almshouses during 1904.

The native white paupers of foreign or mixed parentage admitted in 1904 were 26.8 per cent of the total paupers as compared with 19.4 per cent among the inmates enumerated Dec. 31, 1903.

In 1890, the foreign whites contributed $2\frac{1}{4}$ times as many male paupers per million of voting population as the native whites of native parentage, and those of foreign birth or parentage over 3 times as many.

In 1905, there were 50,000 foreign-born paupers in the State of New York alone, costing the State \$1,510,506 for their support.

(4.) Summary of Above.

From the foregoing it will be seen that the foreign-born furnish, roughly speaking, $1\frac{1}{2}$ times their proportion of criminals and $1\frac{1}{2}$ times their proportion of juvenile offenders, and that some nationalities furnish 3 to 4 times their proportion of offenders in serious crimes.

The foreign-born furnish over two times their proportion of insane, and nearly three times their proportion of paupers.

(B.) DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS.**(1.) Foreign-Born in the United States.**

(Census of 1900, Population, Part I., p. clxxi.)

The total foreign-born population of the United States in 1900 was 10,460,085, or 13.7 per cent of the total population.

The foreign-born population is made up as follows: —

	Number.	Per Cent.
Austria	276,249	2.7
Bohemia	156,991	1.5
Canada (English)	785,958	7.6
Canada (French)	395,297	3.8
Denmark	154,284	1.5
England	842,078	8.1
France	104,341	1.0
Germany	2,666,990	25.8
Holland	105,049	1.0
Hungary	145,802	1.4
Ireland	1,618,567	15.6
Italy	484,207	4.7
Mexico	103,410	1.0
Norway	336,985	3.3
Poland	383,510	3.7
Russia	424,096	4.1
Scotland	233,977	2.3
Sweden	573,040	5.5
Switzerland	115,851	1.1
Wales	93,682	0.9
All others	356,280	3.4

(2.) Distribution of Foreign-Born.

(*Census of 1890, Population, Part I., p. cxxxvi. Census of 1900, Population, Part I., p., clxxiv.*)

	North Atlantic.		South Atlantic.		North Central.		South Central.		Western.	
	1890.	1900.	1890.	1900.	1890.	1900.	1890.	1900.	1890.	1900.
Gt. Britain and Ireland,	59.5	61.6	2.5	2.3	27.6	25.6	2.4	2.2	7.9	8.1
France	36.0	40.6	2.2	2.3	34.1	29.4	12.7	11.2	14.9	16.5
Germany	32.2	33.2	2.9	2.7	56.4	54.9	4.1	4.1	4.3	5.1
Bohemia	10.4	14.1	1.4	2.0	84.3	75.8	3.1	6.9	0.8	1.2
Scandinavia	12.7	16.6	0.3	0.4	76.0	70.9	0.8	1.1	10.0	10.9
Austria	49.9	62.0	1.7	1.4	31.8	25.5	8.4	3.7	8.1	7.4
Hungary	72.9	73.0	1.8	1.4	22.2	22.6	1.4	1.3	1.6	1.7
Italy	65.0	72.7	2.7	2.2	12.0	11.4	6.7	5.4	13.7	8.3
Poland	38.4	51.2	1.7	1.7	57.0	44.9	1.7	1.4	1.2	0.8
Russia	50.9	65.9	3.2	3.9	38.2	25.4	1.5	2.1	6.1	2.7

Note: that only 15.9 per cent of the Italians, 8.7 per cent of the Russians, 3.9 per cent of the Poles, and 4.4 per cent of the Hungarians live in the Southern or Western States.

(3.) Congestion in Certain States.

(Compiled from the Reports of the Commissioner-General of Immigration.)

Per Cent of Total Immigration Destined for the Four States of Illinois, Massachusetts, New York and Pennsylvania.					Per Cent of Total Immigration Destined for the Thirty-four States and Territories South of the Potomac River, Pennsylvania, and the Ohio River, or West of the Mississippi River.				
1896	.	.	.	72.	1896	.	.	.	11.
1897	.	.	.	71.	1897	.	.	.	15.
1898	.	.	.	68.9	1898	.	.	.	15.2
1899	.	.	.	68.7	1899	.	.	.	15.7
1900	.	.	.	68.8	1900	.	.	.	13.4
1901	.	.	.	69.5	1901	.	.	.	13.5
1902	.	.	.	67.8	1902	.	.	.	13.0
1903	.	.	.	65.4	1903	.	.	.	12.0
1904	.	.	.	64.6	1904	.	.	.	13.2
1905	.	.	.	65.3	1905	.	.	.	12.4
1906	.	.	.	66.7	1906	.	.	.	12.0
1907	.	.	.	62.7	1907	.	.	.	13.0

(4.) Rural and Urban Distribution.

It is said that there is plenty of room in the rural districts of the United States for an unlimited number of immigrants of whatever character they may be.

This argument has no weight, unless immigrants can be induced to settle in the rural districts. It appears from the *Census of 1900, Population, Part I*, p. clxxvi., that of a total foreign-born population of 10,356,644, in 1900, 5,130,281, or 49.5 per cent, were found in the 160 principal cities of the United States.

It further appears that whereas the races constituting the bulk of our immigration in the last century tended to settle in the country districts and are still found there, the races now coming to us in the largest numbers tend to settle in the cities. Thus:—

Of persons born in Norway,	22.4	per cent live in cities.
" " " " Denmark,	28.1	" " " " "
" " " " Sweden,	36.3	" " " " "
" " " " Scotland,	46.0	" " " " "
" " " " England,	46.3	" " " " "
" " " " Germany,	50.2	" " " " "
" " " " Ireland,	62.0	" " " " "
" " " " Italy,	62.4	" " " " "
" " " " Poland,	62.5	" " " " "
" " " " Russia,	74.9	" " " " "

Distribution of Recent Immigrants in Certain States.

Compiled from Census of 1900.

(From Immigration, by Prescott F. Hall, pp. 343-345.)

NATIVES OF POLAND IN CERTAIN CITIES AND URBAN COUNTIES.

		1900.	
		Number.	Per Cent of all in State.
ILLINOIS :			
Cook County (Chicago)		62,008	91.3
MICHIGAN :			
Wayne County (Detroit)		14,236	50.3
MASSACHUSETTS :			
Boston		3,832	17.8
Cities above 25,000 inhabitants in 1890		10,367	48.3
Cities above 25,000 inhabitants in 1900		10,449	48.6
NEW YORK :			
New York City		32,873	47.1
Erie County (Buffalo)		19,776	28.4
Cities above 25,000 inhabitants in 1890		57,095	81.9
Cities above 25,000 inhabitants in 1900		58,229	83.5
WISCONSIN :			
Milwaukee County		17,644	55.5

NATIVES OF ITALY IN CERTAIN CITIES AND URBAN COUNTIES.

		1900.	
		Number.	Per Cent of all in State.
CONNECTICUT :			
Cities above 25,000 inhabitants in 1890		10,657	55.8
Cities above 25,000 inhabitants in 1900		10,832	56.7
ILLINOIS :			
Cook County (Chicago)		16,915	72.0
MASSACHUSETTS :			
Boston		13,738	47.7
Cities above 25,000 inhabitants in 1890		18,592	64.6
Cities above 25,000 inhabitants in 1900		19,442	67.5
NEW JERSEY :			
Essex County (Newark, etc.)		11,897	28.4
Hudson County (Jersey City, etc.)		9,646	23.0
Passaic County (Paterson, etc.)		5,798	13.8

Natives of Italy in Certain Cities and Urban Counties—Continued.

		1900.	
		Number.	Per Cent of all in State.
NEW YORK :			
New York City		145,433	79.8
Cities above 25,000 inhabitants in 1890		157,865	86.6
Cities above 25,000 inhabitants in 1900		158,463	87.0
CONNECTICUT :			
New Haven		3,193	28.0
Hartford		2,260	19.8
Cities above 25,000 in 1890		7,237	63.4
Cities above 25,000 in 1900		8,030	70.4
ILLINOIS :			
Chicago		24,178	84.2

NATIVES OF RUSSIA IN CERTAIN CITIES AND URBAN COUNTIES.

		1900.	
		Number.	Per Cent of all in State.
MASSACHUSETTS :			
Boston		14,995	55.6
Cities above 25,000 in 1890		23,819	88.3
Cities above 25,000 in 1900		24,170	89.7
NEW JERSEY :			
Essex County (Newark, etc.)		5,877	29.8
Hudson County (Jersey City, etc.)		4,592	23.3
Passaic County (Paterson, etc.)		2,422	12.3
Union County (Elizabeth, etc.)		1,252	6.3
NEW YORK :			
New York City		155,201	93.7
Cities above 25,000 in 1890		161,354	97.4
Cities above 25,000 in 1900		161,491	97.5
PENNSYLVANIA :			
Philadelphia		28,951	97.5

(5.) Destination of Illiterates.

From the table of the distribution of the foreign-born given above, it appears that those races having the largest percentages of illiteracy — which are also those coming to us recently in the largest numbers — do not go extensively to the West and South, but tend to congregate on the Atlantic Seaboard and in the North Central States.

Thus in 1900 there were found in the Southern and Western States only 8.7 per cent of Russians; 3.9 per cent of Poles; 15.9 per cent of Italians; 4.4 per cent of Hungarians. Of the foregoing, a considerable proportion of the Italians are educated fruit-growers in California.

From this it appears that those regions of the South and West which desire agricultural laborers will not be injured by the application of an educational test to immigrants. On the contrary, in so far as an educational test diminishes the coming of illiterate races, it will tend to stimulate the immigration of races more likely to develop new parts of the country.

(6.) Illiterates and Slums.

The *Seventh Special Report of the U. S. Commissioner of Labor* (1894) shows (p. 44) that the proportion of those of foreign birth or parentage to the total population in the slums of Baltimore was 77 per cent, in Chicago 90 per cent, in New York 95 per cent, and in Philadelphia 91 per cent. The figures for the foreign-born alone are correspondingly striking. It appears from the same report (pp. 160-3) that of every 100 aliens, 40 were illiterate in the slums of Baltimore, 47 in Chicago, 59 in New York, and 51 in Philadelphia; and that of every 100 of these illiterate aliens there were 67 males of voting age in Baltimore, 77 in Chicago, 78 in New York, and 85 in Philadelphia.

The proportion in which the literate and illiterate nationalities contribute to the slum population is shown by the following tables, compiled from the same report, pp. 41, 72:—

<i>Austria-Hungary, Italy, Poland, and Russia.</i>			<i>United Kingdom, France, Germany, and Scandinavia.</i>	
Per Cent of Total Population.	Per Cent of Slum Population.		Per Cent of Total Population.	Per Cent of Slum Population.
		Baltimore.		
1.97	12.72		13.52	27.29
		Chicago.		
6.41	44.44		30.70	10.64
		New York.		
9.45	51.11		30.73	8.64
		Philadelphia.		
1.95	50.28		22.95	8.44

Note: that Southeastern Europe furnishes 3 times as many inhabitants as Northwestern Europe to the slums of Baltimore, 19 times as many to the slums of New York, 20 times as many to the slums of Chicago, 71 times as many to the slums of Philadelphia.

The comparative degree of illiteracy of foregoing elements of slums is as follows for the above-mentioned four cities:—

Scandinavia,	5.6%
Great Britain,	7.0
France,	10.2
Germany,	21.9
Ireland,	40.4
Average of Group,	25.5
Austria-Hungary,	16.6
Russia,	37.1
Poland,	46.1
Italy,	66.4
Average of Group,	54.5
Native Americans,	7.4

(C.) NATURALIZATION OF ALIENS.

From *Census of 1900, Population, Part I*, p. ccxvii, it appears that the proportions of foreign-born males of voting age who were aliens were as follows for the nationalities specified: —

	Per Cent.		Per Cent.
Poland (Austrian)	61.6	France	19.0
Hungary	53.1	Belgium	17.6
Italy	53.0	Switzerland	12.9
Portugal	51.6	England	12.9
Poland (Russian)	50.5	Scotland	12.5
Turkey	48.1	Sweden	11.9
Austria	44.6	Holland	11.6
Finland	38.6	Denmark	10.3
Russia	35.2	Ireland	10.1
Roumania	33.8	Norway	9.7
Spain	33.5	Germany	8.3

From *Census of 1900, Population, Part I*, pp. ccix, ccxvi, it appears that 26 per cent of the foreign-born males of voting age were aliens; in other words, that over one fourth of the foreign-born potential voters were not citizens of the United States. This 26 per cent constituted 5 per cent of the total male population over 21 years of age.

It further appears that of the 1,067,117 aliens in the United States, 34 per cent could not speak English.

(D.) REPLACEMENT OF NATIVE STOCK BY FOREIGN STOCK.

Perhaps the most important effect of immigration, and the one to which popular attention has been least directed, is that of the supplanting of one race by another in this country. In this view the descendants of the settlers of British origin, and later the immigrants of Irish, German, French, and Scandinavian origin, have tended to increase less rapidly on account of the coming of immigrants of habits, customs, and modes of thought alien to those already here and of an inferior social and economic status. The result is not merely a social and economic struggle between those already here and those coming, in which it may be true that the former are in general victorious and are displaced upwards to take more lucrative and responsible positions, but there is another struggle between the new-comers and their children on the one side, and the children of those already here on the other, in which the latter are defeated and slain by never being allowed to come into existence.

Francis A. Walker, Superintendent of the Censuses of 1870 and 1880, maintained that if there had been no immigration whatever into this country during the past 90 years, "the native element would long ago have filled the place the foreigners have usurped." And he further says:—

"The American shrank from the industrial competition thus thrust upon him. He was unwilling himself to engage in the lowest kind of day labor with these new elements of population; he was even more unwilling to bring sons and daughters into the world to enter into that competition. . . . If the foregoing views are true, or contain any considerable degree of truth, foreign immigration into this country has, from the time it assumed large proportions, amounted not to a reinforcement of our population, but to a replacement of native by foreign stock."

(See *Discussions in Economics and Statistics*, Vol. II., pp. 417-451.)

The United States Industrial Commission says in its report, p. 277: "It is a hasty assumption which holds that immigration during the nineteenth century has increased the total population."

(See also *Races and Immigrants in America*, by John R. Commons, pp. 198-205.)

V. Nationalities of Immigrants Desired by the States.

(From Report of the Immigration Investigating Commission, January, 1896. The Commission sent letters to the Governors of all the States asking what nationalities of immigrants were preferred in their several States.)

Of 52 preferences for different nationalities of immigrants expressed in these replies

- 15 were for Germans.
- 14 were for Scandinavians.
- 12 were for English, Scotch, or Irish.
- 3 were for French.
- 2 were for Swiss.
- 2 were for Italians.
- 1 was for Hollanders.
- 1 was for Belgians.
- 1 was for "North of Europe."
- 1 was for Americans.

Note: that there were only 2 calls for immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe, and these were both for Italians. One of the governors asking for Italians expressly stated that he was "not sure that immigrants from any foreign country are desirable as laborers" in his State, and the other said "that unskilled labor is not desired" in his State, but that farmers with small means were highly desirable. As very few of the Italian immigrants now coming to this country settle down and become independent farmers, but are almost entirely unskilled laborers, it may be concluded that, in the second case, Italian immigration of its present character was not desired.

Note: that there was no call for Poles, Russians, Hungarians, Slovaks, or the other races of Southern and Eastern Europe, and of Asia.

Note: that the immigrants from Northern and Western Europe, such as the English, Irish, Scotch, Germans, Scandinavians, and French, who are desired as immigrants in all parts of the United States, are as a whole well educated, there being on the average only 4 per cent of illiteracy among them, while the illiteracy of the immigrants from Austria-Hungary, Italy, Russia and Poland is over 40 per cent. An educational test, therefore, requiring every immigrant to be able to read before gaining admission to the United States, would debar a considerable number of the undesirable classes, while it would interfere very little with the immigration from the North and West of Europe.

(From Immigration, by Prescott F. Hall, pp. 316, 317.)

"In 1904, a similar set of questions was sent to the governors of the various States by the Immigration Restriction League, with the following result: Iowa and West Virginia reported that they had a surplus of labor; Connecticut desired some emigration; and Florida, Indiana, Ohio, and Washington were in favor of further restriction. Of immigrants desired, 7 States desired native-born; 8, persons from Northern Europe; 15, British; 18, Scandinavians; 20, Germans; 2, Dutch; 3, skilled persons; 11, families intending to settle in the country, and 3, persons with money. In regard to immigrants not welcomed, 3 States did not desire any at all; 2 desired no foreign-born; 5, no Southern and Eastern Europeans; 8, no illiterates; 3, no persons likely to settle in cities; 7, no Asiatic immigrants; 1, no Poles; 1, no persons of Latin races; 1, no persons who were unable to speak English; and 12, no persons distributed from the poorer quarters of Eastern cities. The last choice throws some light upon the distribution of immigrants as a solution of the question of congestion. The replies received by the Immigration Restriction League show that the sentiment in the country has not changed at all since 1895, and that the desire for restricting certain undesirable classes is as strong to-day as ever, in the general community, although it has not had as full expression in votes in Congress. The Farmers' National Congress, in 1896, 1897 and 1905, advocated further restriction. And among the newspapers holding the same view may be mentioned the *American Grange Bulletin*, and a considerable number of papers in the rural districts of the Western and Southern States."

VI. The Present Laws and their Effects.

(A.) THE EXCLUDED CLASSES.

The only classes of persons excluded from this country under the present immigration law (Act of Feb. 20, 1907) are the following: —

Mentally unfit. (1) Idiots; (2) Imbeciles; (3) Feeble-minded persons; (4) Insane persons; (5) Persons who have been insane within five years previous; (6) Persons who have had two or more attacks of insanity at any time previously; (7) Persons certified by the examining surgeon as being otherwise mentally defective in such a way that their ability to earn a living is affected.

Physically unfit. (1) Epileptics; (2) Tuberculous persons; (3) Persons afflicted with a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease; (4) Persons certified by the examining surgeon as being otherwise physically defective in such a way that their ability to earn a living is affected.

Morally unfit. (1) Prostitutes, or women or girls entering for immoral purposes; (2) Procurers and persons attempting to bring in women or girls for

immoral purposes; (3) Polygamists; (4) Anarchists; (5) Convicts and self-confessed criminals.

Economically unfit. (1) Paupers; (2) Persons likely to become a public charge; (3) Professional beggars; (4) Contract laborers; (5) Persons deported within a year previously as being contract laborers; (6) Assisted immigrants, unless on special inquiry they are found not to belong to any other excluded class; (7) Children under sixteen years of age, unless accompanied by at least one parent.

Note. — There are three general misconceptions regarding our present immigration laws. *The first* is that we now require a careful examination of all intending immigrants in Europe, before they embark, and in this way the least desirable element is very largely prevented from coming here. *The second*, that persons who cannot read and write are at present debarred from landing. *The third*, that every immigrant must have \$50 in order to be admitted. None of these is true.

All immigrants, except residents for a year previous of Canada, Newfoundland, Cuba or Mexico, residents in any of the United States possessions, and aliens in transit, pay a head tax of \$4.00.

(B.) NUMBERS DEBARRED AND DEPORTED.

1892	.	.	.	2,801 out of	579,663 or 0.5 per cent.
1893	.	.	.	1,630 out of	440,793 or 0.4 per cent.
1894	.	.	.	2,389 out of	228,020 or 1.0 per cent.
1895	.	.	.	2,419 out of	258,536 or 1.0 per cent.
1896	.	.	.	3,037 out of	343,267 or 0.9 per cent.
1897	.	.	.	1,880 out of	230,832 or 0.8 per cent.
1898	.	.	.	3,194 out of	229,299 or 1.4 per cent.
1899	.	.	.	4,061 out of	311,715 or 1.3 per cent.
1900	.	.	.	4,652 out of	448,572 or 1.3 per cent.
1901	.	.	.	3,879 out of	487,918 or 0.8 per cent.
1902	.	.	.	5,429 out of	648,743 or 0.8 per cent.
1903	.	.	.	9,316 out of	857,046 or 1.1 per cent.
1904	.	.	.	8,773 out of	812,870 or 1.1 per cent.
1905	.	.	.	12,724 out of	1,026,499 or 1.2 per cent.
1906	.	.	.	13,108 out of	1,100,735 or 1.2 per cent.
1907	.	.	.	14,059 out of	1,285,349 or 1.1 per cent.

VII. Proposed Methods of Restriction.

(A.) CONSULAR CERTIFICATE PLAN.

It has been suggested that the U. S. consuls shall examine intending immigrants at the various ports of embarkation and certify as to their admissibility under the U. S. immigration laws. This plan was formerly very popular and at first sight seems an excellent one ; but closer examination discloses defects in it that not only make it useless but show it would endanger all the good of the present system of inspection. Some of these objections are as follows : —

1. Necessitates a large increase in consular force, and consequent expense.
2. Divides responsibility between the consul and the inspector at the American port. In doubtful cases each would throw responsibility upon the other and the immigrant would be allowed to enter ; or else
3. Works hardships on the immigrants, because it is not certain that all with consular certificates will be allowed to land.
4. Consuls have not the time to examine the large numbers embarking at one time, and the result would be that inspection would practically be done by their clerks, who are frequently natives, and who would generally sympathize with the immigrants, and in any case would be less efficient and responsible, and more open to corruption.
5. Does not add at all to the classes now excluded by law, but is simply an administrative measure. Other classes are objectionable also.
6. Does not draw any line of exclusion more definite than the present law, which vests an unlimited and burdensome discretion in the immigration officials.
7. If consular inspection were public the foreign governments could at once tell whom to detain as being desirable citizens and fit for military service ; or
8. If secret consular inspection were contemplated, foreign governments would not permit its introduction.

(B.) THE ILLITERACY TEST.

Bills have frequently passed the Senate and the House of Representatives providing that immigrants over fifteen years of age who cannot read in any language they may designate shall be excluded, with certain exceptions designed to prevent separation of families.

The advantages of this test are : —

1. Excludes the people we wish to exclude ; *i. e.*, those who are degraded, ignorant alike of their own language and of any occupation, incapable of appreciating our institutions and standards of living, and very difficult of assimilation.

2. Adds to the excluded classes.
3. In practice would be applied at place where ticket bought and applied by steamship companies, therefore
4. Does not imply any great change in existing machinery, or any large increase in consular service and expense.
5. Inspection is not committed to persons in remote countries where surveillance is difficult, but remains a uniform system, which is public and easily controlled.
6. Is exact and definite in its operation; easily and simply applied, and therefore
7. Diminishes the labor of the boards of special inquiry, and gives the immigration officials opportunity for a more thorough inspection.
8. Secures rudimentary education on the part of all foreigners applying for naturalization papers and American citizenship.
9. Promotes education among those who desire to immigrate, and to that extent improves the social condition of Europe.
10. Saves the hardship to the immigrant of making the voyage in doubt as to his admission or exclusion, and therefore
11. Does away in large part with the separation of families, and with a temptation to a lax enforcement of inspection, in order to prevent such separation. Intending immigrants can tell before starting whether they are eligible or not, and can decide whether to separate or not.

(C.) HEAD-TAX AND MONEY TEST.

Probably the most effective method of diminishing the volume of immigration would be to raise the present head-tax of \$4.00 to \$10, \$25, or \$50. While this test does not on its face make any reference to the quality of the immigrant, it is probable that it would operate to exclude the less thrifty and efficient. A raising of the head-tax would also tend to put this country on a par with other countries as regards the steerage rate, so that the United States would no longer be the cheapest country to get to.

One theoretical disadvantage of a higher head-tax is that it might leave the immigrant so much the poorer when he starts to find work here. In view of the fact that most of the present immigrants land with but little money this objection is probably not sound. But, to avoid this difficulty, it has been suggested that each immigrant should be required to be in possession of a certain amount of money,—say \$25 for single aliens and \$50 for heads of families with children under a certain age. A requirement of this kind would probably result in numerous loans by bankers, contractors and relatives, but would tend to restrict immigration and to give immigrants the means of support until they found work.

VIII. Bibliography.

For the convenience of those wishing to study the subject further, the following references are given to a few of the leading authorities. Further references will be found in some of these works.

List of Books (with references to periodicals) on Immigration. Third issue. Library of Congress (1907). Contains also lists of Congressional Documents, Annual Reports, and Articles in Consular Reports.

Select List of References on Chinese Immigration. Library of Congress (1904). Contains also lists of Government Publications, Congressional Documents, and Reports of Debates.

[These may be obtained by addressing the Librarian of Congress, Washington, D. C.]

Annual Reports of the Commissioner-General of Immigration.

[May be obtained by addressing the Immigration Bureau, Washington, D. C.]

Immigration and its Effects Upon the United States. By Prescott F. Hall. New York: Henry Holt & Co. (1906). The latest general book on the subject. Gives statistics as to immigration, its conditions and effects; the history of legislation and proposed legislation; also a working bibliography.

Races and Immigrants in America. By John R. Commons. New York: Macmillan (1907). Discusses especially the racial and economic aspects of immigration.

Emigration and Immigration. By Richmond Mayo-Smith. New York: Scribners (1892).

The Alien Immigrant. By W. Evans-Gordon. New York: Scribners (1903). A description of the condition of Hebrews in Continental Europe and Great Britain, by a member of the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration. Chapter XII. discusses the situation in the United States.

Anthracite Coal Communities. By Peter Roberts. New York: Macmillan (1904). Deals especially with Slavic immigration.

Report of the Industrial Commission. Vol. 15, pp. 1-840 (1901); Vol. 19, pp. 957-1030 (1902). The most recent United States Government report. It contains much testimony taken before the commission, and special reports by experts on various topics.

Report of the Senate Committee on Immigration. Fifty-seventh Congress, Second Session, No. 62 (1902). Contains the most recent testimony.



For publications and membership in the Immigration Restriction League, address the Secretary, 60 State Street, Boston, Mass. The dues for membership are as follows: For *annual* membership, one dollar, payable in advance upon admission and upon January 1st of each year; for *life* membership, ten dollars, payable upon admission, life members being exempt from annual dues.

The League is a strictly non-partisan and non-sectarian organization, with members from all parts of the United States. It advocates a more careful selection of immigration, but not the exclusion of any immigrants whose character and standards fit them to become citizens

Immigration Figures for 1907

(From data furnished by the Commissioner-General of Immigration.)

Comparison of the Fiscal Years ending June 30, 1906 and 1907

	1906	1907
Total Immigration [<i>See Note 1</i>]	1,100,735	1,285,349
Number debarred from entrance and returned within three years after landing	13,108	14,059
Per cent debarred and returned	1.2	1.1
Number of illiterates over 14 years of age [<i>See Note 2</i>]	269,823	343,402
Per cent of illiterates in total immigration over 14 years of age	27.9	29.9
Immigration of "Teutonic and Keltic races," chiefly from Northern and Western Europe	330,358	347,764
Per cent of total immigration	30.	27.1
Immigration of "Slavic and Iberic races," chiefly from Southern and Eastern Europe	692,443	828,022
Per cent of total immigration	62.9	64.1
Immigration from Asia	22,300	40,524
Per cent of total immigration	2.0	3.2
Average money brought, in dollars	22.81	19.92
Per cent of immigrants who have been in the United States before	12.1	6.8
Per cent of total immigration having no occupation, including women and children	25.9	23.7
Per cent of total immigration who were farm-labor- ers, laborers or servants	52.8	57.4
Per cent of total immigration destined for the four States of Ill., Mass., N. Y. and Pa.	66.7	62.7

	1906	1907
Per cent of total immigration destined for the States east of the Mississippi River and north of the Potomac and Ohio Rivers	86.9	85.1
Per cent of total immigration destined for the Southern and Western States	12.1	13.8
Per cent of total immigration destined for Hawaii, Porto Rico, Alaska and Philippine Islands	1.0	1.1
Per cent of appeals from decisions excluding immigrants in which immigrants were allowed to land, ...	42.3	52.7
Per cent of immigrants held "liable to become public charges" admitted on appeal without bond	40.2	46.3
Per cent of immigrants held "liable to become public charges" admitted on bond on appeal	4.5	10.9

NOTE 1. — The figures for 1907 do not include 191,797 persons admitted as citizens, nor 153,120 "non-immigrant aliens."

NOTE 2. — It should be remembered that the figures of illiteracy are based upon the manifests, which in turn are made up from the statements of the immigrants. One test made at New York showed that 175 immigrants listed as able to read and write were, in fact, illiterate. The recent agitation for an educational test for immigrants has undoubtedly made the latter more disposed to assert their ability to read and write.

Largest Elements in Recent Immigration.

	1904	1905	1906	1907
South Italian	159,329	185,445	240,528	242,497
Hebrew	106,236	129,910	153,748	149,182
Polish	67,757	102,437	95,835	138,033
German	74,790	82,360	86,813	82,936
Magyar	—	—	—	60,071
Scandinavian	61,029	62,284	58,141	53,425

Immigration by Racial Divisions.

	1906		1907	
	Number	Per cent of Total Immigration	Number	Per cent of Total Immigration
Slavic	408,903	37.1	511,175	39.8
Teutonic	213,904	19.4	224,814	17.4
Iberic	283,540	25.8	313,803	24.4
Keltic	116,454	10.6	122,932	9.5
Mongolic	16,139	1.5	31,633	2.4
All others	61,795	5.6	80,992	6.3

Extracts from Reports of the Commissioner-General.

REPORT OF 1907.

(1.) Much immigration not natural but forced.

Page 60: "Another year's experience but emphasizes and confirms the conviction that a considerable part of the large immigration of the past few years is forced or artificial. Two separate and distinct factors are, from interested motives, responsible for such of the immigration as is not natural. First, the violators and evaders of the contract labor feature of the law; and second, the steamship runners and agents."

Page 61: Speaking of the influence toward immigration of letters from previous immigrants in this country: "The worst of it is that there are evidences that this endless chain-letter scheme is seized upon by the promoters and money lenders to further their interests, and no opportunity lost to encourage both the writing and extensive dissemination of such missives. When this is done the line is passed between natural and forced immigration, and the machinations of the promoter and usurer become a menace to the alien directly and to the welfare of this country incidentally."

(2.) Fines for Steamship Companies.

Page 62: "The experience of the past twelve months has demonstrated the necessity for drawing the lines closer, and holding the transportation companies to a more strict accountability for any and all derelictions in furnishing transportation to aliens mentally and physically diseased. . . . Adding to the class on account of the bringing of which the transportation companies will be fined will accomplish much good. If the amount of the fine were increased to a sum sufficient to make the exercise of great care a measure of economy on the part of the transportation companies, the purposes of the law would be furthered materially."

(Report of Commissioner at New York.)

Page 83: "The more attention I give to this matter, the more I am convinced that this principle [of fines] might be still further extended advantageously to this government and the increased protection of those who are permitted to make a useless and expensive journey across the ocean, and whose admission to the United States is absolutely precluded by law."

(3.) Dangers of Bonding Provision of Present Law.

(*Report of Commissioner at New York.*)

Page 83: In speaking of appeals from decisions of boards of special inquiry excluding aliens: "It will be noted that 345 were admitted on bond, and although few, if any, aliens admitted on bond have ever fallen a charge on the public, I repeat what I stated in my last annual report, that those aliens who are afflicted with mental degeneracy, or with physical ills susceptible of reproduction in aggravated form, ought never to be admitted under bond, no matter how strong the financial backing of the bondsman. Financial security cannot guard against ills of this nature.

"This view cannot be too strongly emphasized, for notwithstanding the fact that beginning July 1, 1907, imbeciles, epileptics, etc., are not admissible even under bond, the number of admissions under bond is certain to be very greatly increased, as per terms of section 26 of the Act of February 20, 1907."

Administration of Present Law — Number Debarred.

One of the most striking features regarding the administration of the present law is an increase of nearly 25 per cent in the number of aliens admitted on appeal to Washington after decisions excluding them by the boards of special inquiry which have heard their cases.

There was an increase of 15 per cent in the number of aliens held by the boards of special inquiry to be liable to become public charges who were admitted on appeal WITHOUT BOND, and an increase of 142.2 per cent admitted on bond.

The present Secretary of Commerce and Labor took office December 17, 1906. During the first six months of 1907 (July to December, 1906) the percentage of aliens debarred was 1.3; during the last six months (January to June, 1907) the percentage was 0.8, A REDUCTION OF 38 PER CENT. Competent observers agree that the quality of immigration did not improve during the second period as compared with the first period.

It should be remembered that every case reversed on appeal tends to prevent excluding decisions by the boards of special inquiry in all cases where the facts are similar.

Money Brought.

While, *on the average*, the immigrants of 1907 brought about \$20 apiece, it appears that 303,924, or 23.7 per cent of all immigrants, brought no money at all. Even if the children under 14 years be deducted from this number, there were still 165,580 persons bringing no money.

Character of Many Recent Immigrants.

(1.) **By Gen. Theodore A. Bingham, Police Commissioner of New York City.**

(From Cincinnati Enquirer, July 20, 1907.)

Theodore A. Bingham, Police Commissioner, aroused by the wave of crimes against women and children throughout the greater city, with especial reference to the Dyker Heights case, made the following statement, carefully revised, to the newspaper men at police headquarters after saying that the people of New York did not realize what an enormous amount of crime the Police Department is facing :—

“There is another very important thing about this crime business. I don't want to say anything that would be indiscreet, but unquestionably the hordes of immigrants that are coming here have a good deal to do with crimes against women and children.

“You will notice that these particular crimes are done by fellows who can't talk the English language. It is this wave of immigration that brings to New York the hundreds of thousands of criminals who don't know what liberty means, and don't care; don't know our customs, cannot speak the English language, and are in general the scum of Europe.

“The solution of the problem is to prohibit immigration. But when we come to executing immigration laws it is found to be practically impossible to deport.”

(2.) **By Dr. Thomas Darlington, President of the Board of Health of New York City.**

After making a special investigation of the push-cart nuisance by direction of Mayor McClellan, Dr. Darlington said :—

“I have heard the assertion that immigration is necessary to carry on our public works, to build railroads, dig canals, and the like. But the present immigrants now coming over do not come for that purpose, and will not do that sort of work. No; they prefer to become push-cart peddlers and live in poverty in our cities, breeding disease and crime. They occupy our streets, the streets for which our taxpayers have paid heavily. They interfere with traffic and break the laws of sanitation which we have decided were necessary for the preservation of public health.”

Illiteracy and Crime.

That an illiteracy test for immigrants would be of great benefit appears from the fact that, while of the foreign-born over ten years of age in 1900 there were 12.9 per cent illiterate, the foreign-born prisoners over ten years committed in 1904 showed an illiteracy of 20.3 per cent. In other words, among the foreign-born, the illiterates furnish an excessive proportion of criminals.

Illiteracy of Immigrants.

Number of persons in each hundred immigrants over fourteen years of age who, *according to their own statement*, cannot write, or cannot read and write, their own language, from those races (*not nations*) which contributed upwards of 2,000 immigrants to the United States during any of the past three fiscal years:—

NORTHERN AND WESTERN EUROPE (Chiefly Teutonic and Celtic).						1905	1906	1907
Scotch	.	.	.	.	.	0.7	0.5	1.0
Scandinavian	.	.	.	.	.	0.6	0.5	1.1
English	.	.	.	.	.	1.3	1.0	1.4
Bohemian and Moravian	.	.	.	.	.	1.7	1.8	2.1
Finnish	.	.	.	.	.	1.8	1.5	3.1
French	.	.	.	.	.	2.7	2.6	2.1
Irish	.	.	.	.	.	3.8	2.3	2.2
Dutch and Flemish	.	.	.	.	.	5.3	4.0	4.2
German	.	.	.	.	.	4.2	5.0	7.0
Italian (North)	.	.	.	.	.	14.0	12.0	10.0
Average of above	.	.	.	.	.	3.7	3.7	4.3

SOUTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE (Chiefly Slavic and Iberic).

Armenian	.	.	.	.	.	—	—	24.0
Spanish	.	.	.	.	.	10.1	9.8	33.5
Magyar	.	.	.	.	.	11.6	12.7	10.5
Greek	.	.	.	.	.	22.4	23.5	30.6
Russian	.	.	.	.	.	30.8	39.0	44.5
Slovak	.	.	.	.	.	25.0	22.0	21.5
Roumanian	.	.	.	.	.	28.8	36.5	39.3
Dalmatian, Bosnian and Herzegovinian	.	.	.	.	.	38.4	44.3	49.7
Polish	.	.	.	.	.	39.6	37.1	41.2
Croatian and Slovenian	.	.	.	.	.	38.2	39.9	36.4
Bulgarian, Servian, and Montenegrin	.	.	.	.	.	38.9	41.8	44.8
Lithuanian	.	.	.	.	.	56.9	56.8	62.4
Italian (South)	.	.	.	.	.	56.4	53.8	53.3
Ruthenian	.	.	.	.	.	62.6	56.3	55.8
Portuguese	.	.	.	.	.	66.7	58.6	76.6
Average of above	.	.	.	.	.	42.2	42.0	42.2

OTHER RACES.

Chinese	.	.	.	.	.	5.0	5.6	—
Cuban	.	.	.	.	.	7.7	4.7	11.7
Japanese	.	.	.	.	.	39.3	42.7	31.2
Hebrew	.	.	.	.	.	23.3	27.0	29.0
African (black)	.	.	.	.	.	15.8	12.3	16.2
Syrian	.	.	.	.	.	53.6	54.8	55.1

Alien Movement — Emigration.

July and August, 1907.

	Inward.	Outward.
Immigrant aliens	195,957	49,854
Non-immigrant aliens	22,713	40,661
Total	218,670	90,515

NOTE. The Act of February 20, 1907, provided, for the first time, for official statistics of emigration. Arriving aliens intending to remain here, and departing aliens intending to remain abroad, are classed as "immigrant aliens"; those making a temporary trip in either direction are classed as "non-immigrant aliens."

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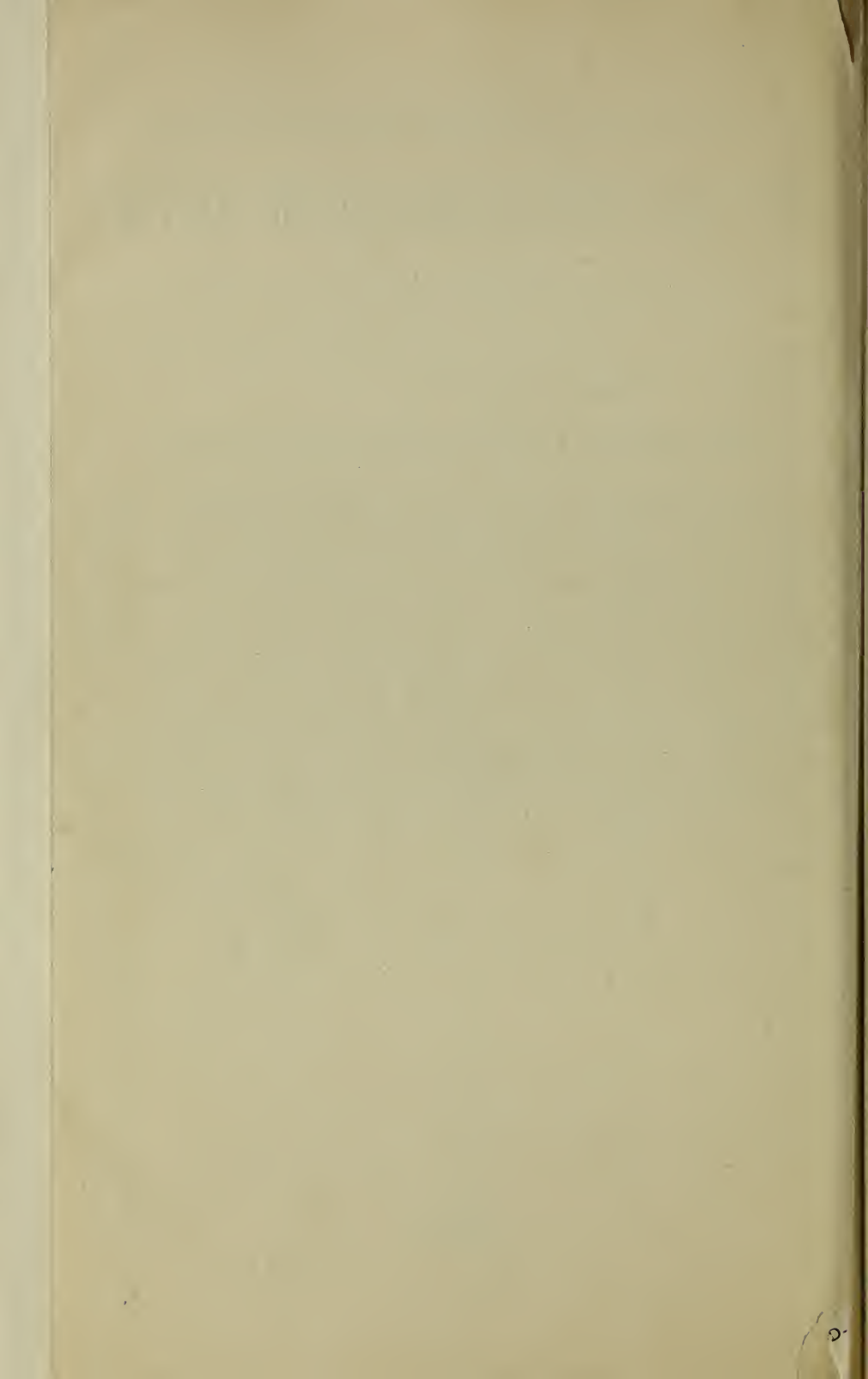
The League is a strictly non-partisan and non-sectarian organization, with members from all parts of the United States. It advocates a more careful selection of immigration, but not the exclusion of any immigrants whose character and standards fit them to become citizens.

WHY HAS GERMAN IMMIGRATION STOPPED?

Are the German immigrants being shut out by the increasing numbers from Southeastern Europe? A careful study of the figures given below will startle those who are anxious to have the immigrants from the Fatherland hold their own with those of other races.

Per Cent of Total European Immigration.

	GERMANY	ITALY	AUSTRIA-HUNGARY	RUSSIA
1887	22%	10%	9%	6%
1888	20 "	10 "	8 "	6 "
1889	23 "	6 "	8 "	8 "
1890	21 "	12 "	13 "	8 "
1891	21 "	14 "	13 "	9 "
1892	21 "	11 "	13 "	14 "
1893	19 "	17 "	13 "	10 "
1894	19 "	15 "	14 "	14 "
1895	13 "	14 "	13 "	15 "
1896	10 "	21 "	20 "	16 "
1897	10 "	27 "	15 "	12 "
1898	8 "	27 "	18 "	14 "
1899	6 "	26 "	21 "	21 "
1900	4 "	24 "	27 "	21 "
1901	5 "	29 "	24 "	18 "
1902	5 "	29 "	28 "	17 "
1903	5 "	28 "	25 "	17 "
1904	6 "	25 "	23 "	19 "
1905	4 "	23 "	28 "	19 "
1906	4 "	27 "	26 "	21 "
1907	3 "	24 "	28 "	22 "



EUGENICS, ETHICS AND IMMIGRATION.

BY

PRESCOTT F. HALL.

THE word "Eugenics" has appeared in periodical literature only within the last ten years, chiefly through the writings of Sir Francis Galton and of Karl Pearson, professor of mathematics in the University of London. The thing itself is, indeed, not new. The effort to improve the breeds of men has been expressed in many ways from early times. Not to mention the exposure of weakling children by the various races, restrictions on marriage of one kind or another have been imposed by almost all peoples.

Since Christianity and civilization have emphasized the worth of the individual, the voluntary elimination of the unfit has been limited to the execution of offenders against political or religious laws, and the forced segregation of certain other classes, like paupers, insane persons, idiots and lepers.

The attempt to improve race stocks in recent times has, therefore, taken the form, not of killing off the less fit, but of preventing their coming into the State, either by being born into it or by migration. Eugenics includes, not only the prevention of unfit, but the conscious attempt to produce the more fit; indeed, it is in the latter sense that the word is most often used. Strictly speaking, however, it must include all attempts to improve the physical equipment of the individual in so far as he acquires it by heredity.

The recent emphasis upon eugenics is a direct outcome of modern science. On the one hand, Darwin and his followers have shown us the methods and the possibilities of the production of new species of plants and animals. This knowledge has been applied, in countless ways, — to improve breeds of sheep and cattle, to develop race horses, to create new and improved kinds of grains, grasses and fruits. The marvellous work of Luther Burbank and others has opened our eyes to what can be done along these lines. So much has been done, indeed, that it would not be too much to say that artificial selection has been applied to almost every living thing with which man has close relations except man himself; and people are

now asking why the breeding of the most important animal of all should, alone, be left to chance.

On the other hand, the weakening of theological dogma, resulting from the spread of science, has turned men's gaze in large part from the next world to this. The centre of effort has in large part been shifted from preparing for death to enlarging life, from cultivating holiness to producing wholeness. Comte, Herbert Spencer, in fact nearly all modern philosophers, have laid emphasis on making this world better, without reference to what may happen in any other world. The culmination of this movement is found in such men as Nietzsche, Bernard Shaw and President Roosevelt. The Christ ideal is no longer one of religious contemplation, but of human perfection; the superman, working in a strenuous life to produce a better world here and now, is the one who attracts the admiration of men today.

Science has aided this movement in another way by showing that, in the last century, too much emphasis was laid upon environment and too little upon heredity. Education, environment, can develop and modify; they cannot create. Modern biology shows how different organisms react upon the same environment; and that, by selecting individuals who react in certain ways, more can be accomplished than by merely changing environment of the total number.

And thus it has come about that at last men are asking how the advent of the superman can be hastened, and are beginning to discuss the application of artificial breeding and selection to mankind itself. Nietzsche's definition of marriage, as the union of two with the object of producing beings higher than themselves, is beginning to be seriously considered.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Europe attempted to improve its race stocks by the exportation of the less desirable individuals. Each country had its penal colonies, and in addition used the United States as a dumping ground for its convicts, paupers and insane. The immigration laws of the United States, which purport to exclude some twenty-one classes of mentally, physically, morally and economically undesirable persons, were originally intended to protect the country from the dumping process above described. But, inasmuch as they operate equally in the cases of assisted and of normal immigration, they really go further than this; and, so far as they are enforced, tend to eugenic results by selecting

the better classes of aliens for the fathers and mothers of future citizens.

Within the United States, in addition to the usual segregation of criminals and insane, we hear from time to time suggestions as to sterilizing certain classes of the unfit or regulating the marriage of those afflicted with hereditary diseases. Until public opinion has been much more educated in this matter, however, little is likely to be done on these lines. The clause of the Constitution of the United States forbidding "cruel and unusual punishments" is likely to stand in the way of measures of sterilization like those enacted in Indiana; and it may be questioned whether marriage regulations will have any effect other than to increase illegitimacy, except among the more intelligent and public spirited, who would probably act in the same way without legislation. Marriage regulations in Europe, as applied to men in the army, have never been very successful; and in Bavaria, for example, worked such harm that they had to be modified.

One of the chief troubles with the extension of eugenic ideals is the fact above mentioned that the very people who most need them are the last to be influenced by them. Thus, according to Professor Pearson, more than one half the births in Great Britain occur among less than one sixth of the population, and the latter are composed of the less intelligent portion of the community; and not only less intelligent, but less developed physically. It is on account of this last fact that we hear so much now about the physical deterioration of the British people, as shown in the examination of recruits for the army. Nature abhors extremes, and weeds out both the laggards and the pioneers.

This tendency of the less intelligent to multiply more rapidly becomes doubly important in a country where, in some years, immigration ranges from one to one and one quarter per cent of the population,* and is chiefly made up of the working classes. Admitting, for the sake of argument, that a mixture of race stocks may be desirable, it is apparent that the individuals who are to be the progenitors of the mixed stock should, at least, be as good, mentally and physically, as the average of those already here, if there is not to be a gradual degeneration of our people.

* It is true that the "net addition to population" by immigration, in any year, is less than this; but returning aliens may leave children behind them, and, in any case, exert a profound influence on the community.

PRESENT LAWS NOT SUFFICIENT.

The fact is, that our immigration laws, as at present administered, do not screen out the unfit so as to preserve the *status quo*, to say nothing of promoting eugenic improvement. Dr. Darlington of the New York City Board of Health has pointed out * that over 80 per cent of the aliens certified by the examining surgeons as being of poor physique or as having some physical abnormality were landed recently at Ellis Island. According to the Surgeon-General, 3774 aliens were certified at Ellis Island from July 1 to December 31, 1907, as having physical disabilities affecting their capacity for self-maintenance; and, during the same period, 3073 of such aliens were admitted. Of 4846 certified during the year 1904, or remaining over from the previous year, 3478 were landed.

The result of this laxness is shown in the further facts cited by Dr. Darlington, that the 40 per cent of foreign-born school children in New York City furnished, in 1906, over 70 per cent of the defectives in the schools; while in 1902 a foreign-born population of New York City, constituting a little over one third of the total population of New York City, furnished 89 per cent of the deaths from tuberculosis, and, in 1904, 60 per cent of the insane patients.

It further appears that the races which have recently begun to come to us, some of which are coming in large numbers, are those which have the largest proportion of serious physical defects. Thus, in 1901, the proportions of defectives to the totals landed, according to Dr. McLaughlin, † were as follows for certain races:—

Syrian	1 in 29.
Hebrew	1 in 42.
Magyar	1 in 148.
Finn	1 in 163.
Italian	1 in 172.
Slav	1 in 664.
Lithuanian	1 in 1906.

Hebrew immigration has for several years been the second largest element in the total immigration.

The census of 1900 shows that, roughly speaking, the foreign-born

* *North American Review*, Vol. 183, p. 1262 (Dec. 21, 1906).

† *Popular Science Monthly*, Vol. 62, p. 407.

furnish one and one-fifth times their proportion of criminals, one and one-half times their proportion of juvenile offenders, nearly twice their proportion of insane, and nearly three times their proportion of paupers.

If we had proper immigration laws properly enforced, most of those who are or become defectives and dependents would never be admitted, and we should be protected, not merely from the burden of them, but from what George William Curtis called that "watering of the nation's life-blood" which is the result of their breeding after admission.

After great efforts, a new class of excluded persons was added to the immigration law in 1907, consisting of persons "who are found to be and are certified by the examining surgeon as being mentally or physically defective, such mental or physical defect being of a nature which may affect the ability of such alien to earn a living." It was further provided that there should be no appeal from the decision of boards of special inquiry excluding such aliens. This was intended to be a purely physical test; in practice, however, it has been made an economic test. It is held by some of the officials that the defect must interfere with any particular occupation which the alien states he intends to pursue; that the function of the surgeon is merely advisory; and that the question whether the decision of a board of special inquiry was, in any case, based on the medical certificate, can be reviewed by the Secretary of Commerce and Labor. As a result of these refinements, the "poor physique" clause has become a dead letter, and the protection, which it was intended to furnish to the public health, has been done away with.

Admitting that immigration is to be regulated at all, there seems to be no reason why the same care should not be exercised in admitting human beings that is now exercised in relation to animals, insect pests and disease germs. The admission of undesirable individuals does not necessarily improve the world as a whole. There are as many English sparrows in England as there were before they were imported to become a nuisance in this country.

The opponents of regulation of immigration have largely relied upon the doctrine that free competition of individuals will result in the "survival of the fittest" by natural selection. This belief is based upon a misunderstanding of the expression "survival of the fittest." This really means the survival of those most fitted for survival, and not necessarily those most fitted for any other purpose.

As Dr. Pearson has pointed out,* this practically means the survival of the most fertile. The poor drunkard in the slums who has, perhaps, ten children survives five times as much as the college president with two, but no one would think of claiming that the ten are as valuable as the two. Formerly, the ten, or most of them, would have been eliminated by disease, and only the strongest would have survived. Today, owing to modern sanitation, they all live, though often handicapped in the struggle for existence.

A variation of this argument usually takes the form of pointing out some dramatic single instance, where a child of the slums or one immigrating from some European ghetto, has risen to distinguished rank and done valuable service to the community. In view of the recent work of Hugo de Vries, Burbank and others, it cannot be denied that spontaneous variation does produce occasional "sports" very different from the parent stock. But, although we cannot predict that X, a child of A, will be of type A, any more than we can predict the date of his death, we can be absolutely certain what a class X of children of persons of type A will be, just as we can certainly predict the average life of that class; and we can also predict that the more valuable class A, the more valuable will be class X.

On account of the tendency, discussed above, for those classes of the community which have a lower physical and mental development to breed more rapidly, we must consider classes and not individuals. Wars and pestilences no longer eliminate the unfit as formerly, and what harm can be done by the breeding of a single pair of undesirables has been shown by the history of the Jukes family in New York State. That heredity counts for more than environment is shown by the importance attached to the former, as compared with latter, by the insurance companies. According to Galton, the individual inherits in some degree from every one of his ancestors, but in inverse geometrical proportion to their remoteness. If, therefore, we have a class of immigrants mentally and physically defective, we can be mathematically certain that the children of that class will contain a preponderating amount of degeneracy, no matter what the environment. As Professor Pearson says: "You cannot change the leopard's spots, and you cannot change bad stock to good; you may dilute it, possibly spread it over a wide

* "National Life from the Standpoint of Science."

area, spoiling good stock, but until it ceases to multiply it will not cease to be."

The United States, from its geographical position, has an opportunity to perpetuate its unique advantage in having been founded and developed by a picked class of immigrants. Only recently has the greed of transportation companies brought to our shores a selection, not of the best, but often of the worst elements of European and Asiatic populations. Pending the development of further eugenic ideals, the least we can do is to see that the best specimens of each race are chosen for the parents of our future citizens.

THE ETHICS OF IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION.

In an address before the Economic Club of Boston, President Eliot, of Harvard University, once took for his text the proposition that restriction of immigration was not a "generous thought." As this phrase sums up the objection felt by a number of public-spirited persons to any rigorous regulation of immigration, it deserves careful consideration. At the first, the term "free immigration" has an attractive sound. Freedom has been the watchword of democracy, of anti-slavery, of religious liberty. It was the war cry of that school of economics which was dominant until recent years, and found expression in the doctrine of *laissez faire*. In political life, liberty meant until recently the minimum of control necessary to secure equal opportunity.

The chief difference between the viewpoint of the nineteenth century and that of the twentieth will be found, I think, in the more positive and constructive attitude of the latter. We have begun to realize the control of man over nature, and to see that the highest results come from collective effort consciously directed to an end. We have seen, for example, both in biology and in history that individuals with traits of the highest value may disappear before the onslaughts of lower types which in one way or another are better fitted to perpetuate themselves.

Do we, therefore, say that such is the Divine purpose, and acquiesce in the result? Not at all. We say there is no ground for supposing that the Divine purpose does not intend to work as much through man's reason as through the forces of nature; and we set about interfering with natural selection in almost every department of life. We not only weed out the tares and thistles to plant wheat and figs, but Mr. Burbank and others create better kinds of wheat

and figs and they supplant what we had before. The race horse and the seedless orange are triumphs of man's brain applied to artificial selection. In human affairs we find that we must go far beyond the doctrine of equal opportunity, and by compulsory education, pure food laws and countless other regulations, protect the people from harm and raise them to a higher type. We even lie awake nights devising how to get better men into our municipal offices, utterly regardless of the question whether the average citizen wishes better government or not; and, when the bad citizen gets too bad, we sometimes interfere with his natural activity by putting him in jail.

Now, all these considerations have a direct bearing upon the question of immigration regulation, for the migration of peoples is one of the matters in which conscious human agency may produce the greatest results, by the selection of the future races.

Restriction of immigration can be justified from two points of view. The first point of view is, that any political unit has the right to exclude whatever will not help it to a higher development than it now has. Probably the world is not yet ready for eugenic ideals such as Messrs. Pearson and Galton are preaching in England, whether they be by regulation of marriage or by preserving the purity of certain races. So let us pass to the second point of view.

This is, that any political unit has the right to protect itself from the invasion of anything tending to retard its normal life and development, whether it be noxious weeds or animals, germs of infectious disease, immoral books, immoral people, criminals, or persons whose presence tends to lower the average of intelligence, political capacity, or mental and physical health.

This right has never been questioned legally; it is an inherent attribute of sovereignty. It rests on the proposition that a political and social community is the creation and property of those who have established and developed it, and that they have the right to say who shall be admitted into its life. The nation is larger, but not unlike the state, the city, the church, the club, the family. In these smaller units the right to regulate admission is unquestioned. The college, of which the president above referred to is the distinguished head, is by no means indifferent to educational tests for admission to its privileges.

But the right of the nation to exclude individuals may be questioned upon moral grounds just because it is larger than the other units we have mentioned. The surface of the earth is limited in

extent ; and while in most parts of Europe the birth rate is falling, in Asia and Africa it is probably rising, and in all parts the death rate is diminishing. What, it will be asked, are these teeming multitudes to do if they overcrowd their native territory ?

This problem suggests two preliminary practical considerations. One is that most nations do not restrict immigration to any extent, so that if the United States were to impose additional restrictions, most of the remaining countries would still be open. Another is, that free immigration, in many if not in all cases, results in an absolute increase in population in the country from which it takes place, so that the problem is not solved but renewed. There are ten times as many Englishmen in England as at the time of the first English emigration. Unless we admit the right of any human type, no matter how low, not only to move about the earth's surface but to propagate indefinitely at will, we must consider what types it is desirable to have populate the now unsettled portions of the world. There might be no fewer Hindus in Asia after a few years if one hundred millions out of the eight hundred millions now there were to come to America ; but the effect on America would be profound and permanent, while the effect on India would be slight and temporary.

Now, if the facts show, as I believe they do, that a considerable proportion of the immigrants coming today are below the average of our citizenship, mentally, morally and physically, and if they have tended to lower that average, why is it ungenerous to say, " You shall not come faster than we can lift you to our level or higher, and those of you who are very far below our level shall not come until they fit themselves for our conditions." Observe the question which the college president raises is not one of fact but of the moral law. He proclaims that restriction of immigration is ungenerous no matter what the quality of that immigration is.

Now if a thing is ungenerous, it must be because it is ungenerous toward somebody. Restriction of immigration, under the assumed state of facts, is certainly not ungenerous to the native-born in the United States, nor to the foreign-born already here. Is it ungenerous to the intending immigrants, who may soon number two millions a year ? That must be considered in connection with the effect of exclusion upon all the population of the other countries. If the standard of civilization and progress which the United States stands for were lowered, either by thinning the life blood of the peo-

ple or by supplanting the existing races by others whose ideals are different, the damage to the rest of the world might be enough to much more than offset the benefit to the individuals admitted. For nations, like individuals, progress by emulation and imitation, and if there is nothing of value to imitate, such progress becomes delayed.

Just at this point I seem to hear something said of the colossal Teutonic conceit which thinks its race better than others. I frankly accept the challenge. I do believe that, in recent centuries, the Teutonic stock has been the finest in the world. The Iberic had its day; but compare the history of the Spanish-American republics for three hundred years with that of England, Germany, Scandinavia and the United States. If our country had been settled by Galicians, Croatsians, Sicilians or Greeks, can anyone suppose that our institutions and achievements would have been what they have or that that the movement toward political and religious liberty throughout all the world would have been the same?

Besides the advantage of continuing the higher progress of an advancing nation for its service to the world, there are certain benefits of restriction of emigration which are often overlooked. Emigration has been used as a safety valve by the governments of Europe to enable them to continue despotic rule, burdensome taxation, indifference to educational and industrial advance. It is probable that certain European countries would be further ahead today if the pressure of population and poverty had been present to force their rulers to more enlightened policies. A few years ago the mere rumor that the United States would adopt an educational test for immigrants sufficed to cause the Italian Minister of Education to take steps to enforce the primary education law, previously a dead letter in many parts of Italy.

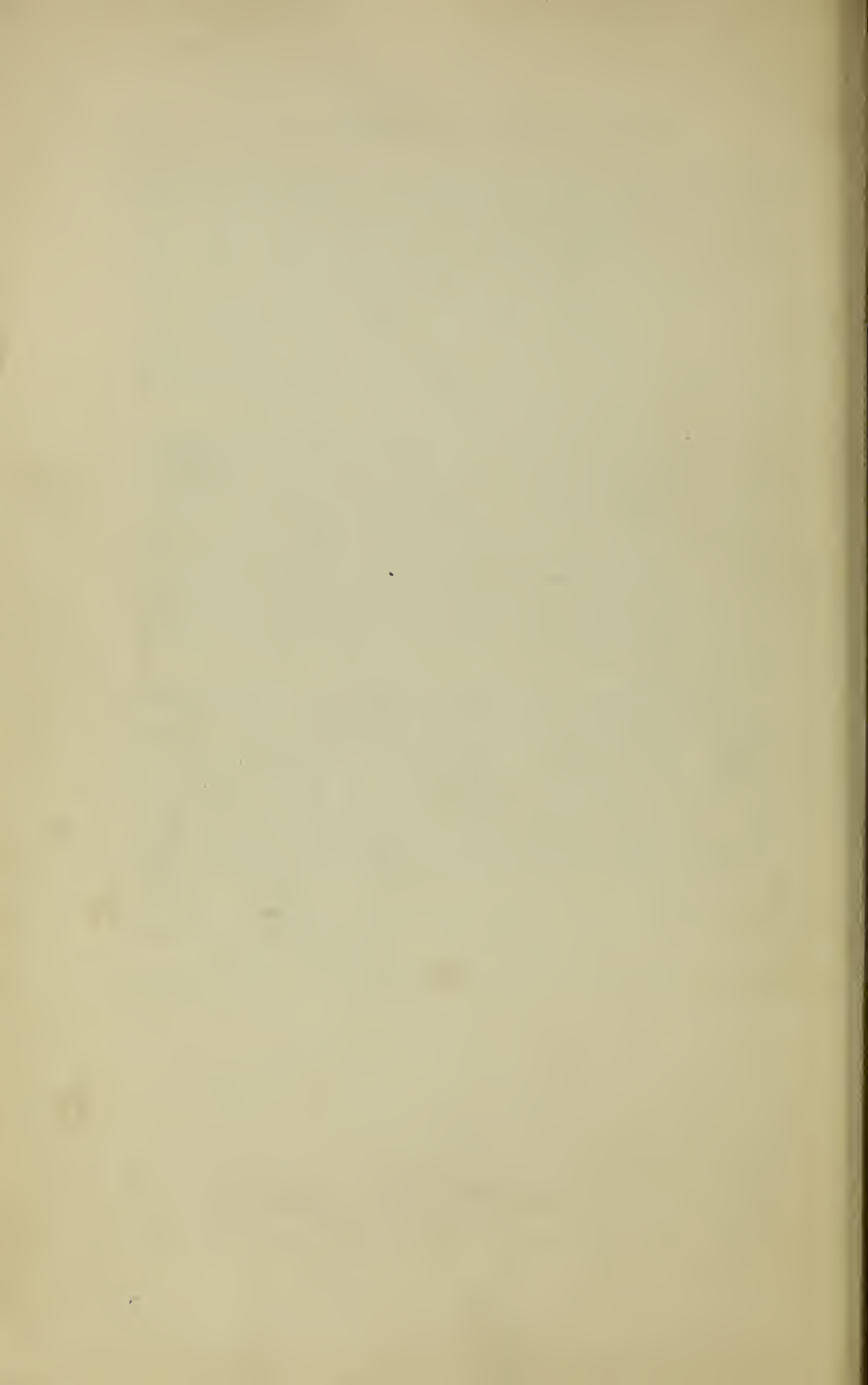
And it must be remembered that there are many kinds of intending immigrants. By excluding the less fit, we make room for the more fit, who would otherwise be unable to come. The great recent influx of South Italians and Slavs has had a perceptible effect in checking immigration from Northern and Western Europe. Restriction is, indeed, not a condition of our making. It is a result of the fact that even the largest country has only a certain amount of employment to offer at any given time. The admission of the less desirable means the exclusion of the better class. To which of the two does the future more justly belong? Then, again, in so far as immigration lowers the standards of things in this country, it injures

the prospects of all future immigrants. We who are living today are trustees of what has been accomplished, not merely for our own people, but for all who may inhabit this country in the future. The trouble with the college president's view is that it contemplates using the principal of trust funds for temporary almsgiving, and presently there will be no funds to take care of future deserving cases. For it must never be forgotten that assimilation works both ways; that immigrants are assimilating us, and if too numerous and too alien they destroy our power of lifting them, just as a strong man may be made feeble by the smallest germs.

To sum up, the open hand may not be the most generous attitude, either toward our foreign-born citizens, toward present immigrants, toward future immigrants, or toward the world at large. In the words of Phillips Brooks: "If the world, in the great march of centuries, is going to be richer for the development of a certain national character, built up by a larger type of manhood here, then for the world's sake, for the sake of every nation that would pour in upon it that which would disturb that development, we have a right to stand guard over it."

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Immigration Figures for 1908

Comparison of the Fiscal Years ending June 30, 1907 and 1908

(From data furnished by the Commissioner-General of Immigration)

	1907	1908
Total immigration [See Note 1]	1,285,349	782,870
Number debarred from entrance and returned within three years after landing	14,059	12,971
Per cent debarred and returned	1.1	1.7
Total emigration [See Note 2]		395,073
Net immigration		387,797
Net addition to population [See Note 3]		68,042
Number of illiterates over 14 years of age [See Note 4]	343,402	174,603
Per cent of illiterates in total immigration over 14 years of age	29.9	26.0
Immigration of "Teutonic and Keltic races" chiefly from Northern and Western Eu- rope	347,764	264,681
Per cent of total immigration	27.1	33.8
Immigration of "Slavic and Iberic races," chiefly from Southern and Eastern Europe	828,022	441,803
Per cent of total immigration	64.1	56.4
Immigration from Asia	40,524	28,365
Per cent of total immigration	3.2	3.6
Average money brought, in dollars	19.92	22.78
Per cent of immigrants who have been in the United States before	6.8	8.1
Per cent of total immigration having no occupa- tion, including women and children	23.7	30.9

	1907	1908
Per cent of total immigration who were farm-laborers, laborers or servants	57.4	47.9
Per cent of total immigration destined for the four States of Ill., Mass., N. Y. and Pa.	62.7	61.7
Per cent of total immigration destined for the States east of the Mississippi River and north of the Potomac and Ohio Rivers	85.1	80.5
Per cent of total immigration destined for the other (Southern and Western) States	13.8	18.0
Per cent of total immigration destined for Hawaii, Porto Rico, Alaska and Philippine Islands	1.1	1.5

NOTE 1.—This figure does not include 141,825 “non-immigrant aliens.”

NOTE 2.—Does not include 319,755 “non-emigrant aliens.”

NOTE 3.—This figure is ascertained by subtracting from the total of “immigrant aliens” and “non-immigrant aliens” the “emigrant aliens” and the “non-emigrant aliens.”

NOTE 4.—It should be remembered that the figures of illiteracy are based upon the manifests, which in turn are made up from the statements of the immigrants. One test made at New York showed that 175 immigrants listed as able to read and write were, in fact, illiterate. The recent agitation for an educational test for immigrants has undoubtedly made the latter more disposed to assert their ability to read and write.

Largest Elements in Recent Immigration.

	1905	1906	1907	1908
South Italian	185,445	240,528	242,497	110,547
Hebrew	129,910	153,748	149,182	103,387
Polish	102,437	95,835	138,033	68,105
German	82,360	86,813	82,936	73,038
Magyar	—	—	60,071	24,378
Scandinavian	62,284	58,141	53,425	32,879

Immigration Appeals.

One of the most important features of the administration of the laws is the matter of appeals. Immigrants about whom the primary immigrant inspectors have doubts go before “boards of special inquiry,” and from the decisions of these boards an appeal lies to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor. The decisions on appeal have a far-reaching effect upon the strictness with which the law is enforced; because, where an appeal is sustained, subsequent cases involving similar facts are likely to be decided by the boards of special inquiry in favor of the aliens. Under

Section 26 of the law, the Secretary has the right to admit an alien on bond, without any appeal being taken. The figures for the last two years were as follows:—

	1907		1908	
	Number	%	Number	%
Appeals from excluding decisions	4,384		1,592	
Admitted without bond	1,950	44.5	496	31.1
Admitted on bond	412	9.5	268	16.9
Total admitted	2,362	54.0	764	48.0
Debarred	1,939	44.2	793	48.9
Admitted on bond without appeal under Section 26	6		649	
Decrease in immigration, 1908				39.1%
Decrease in appeals, 1908				63.7%
Increase in total exclusions				21.3%

This shows that, although only a few less appeals were sustained in 1908, and the total exclusions were one-fifth more, the proportion of appeals was only eight-thirteenths. This is explained by the fact that the admissions on bond without appeal increased over 100 times; for it appears that the proportion of those admitted by the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, either on appeal or without appeal, to the total immigration was the same in both years; viz., 0.18 per cent. In other words, the Secretary admitted in 1908 1,413 persons, whom the inspection officers thought not entitled to land.

The Commissioner-General in his report (p. 12) states that “by reason of the delay in formulating a satisfactory rule and through misunderstanding numbers of cases have come up as applications for admission under bond [under Section 26] which ought to have come up as appeals, and the figures therefore show more bonds accepted than there was any real necessity for taking. . . . Approximately half of those recorded as applications for bond should in reality be considered as appeals.” . . .

The present bonding arrangements are entirely inadequate. In most cases the bonds are too small to make it worth while to sue upon them; and, in fact, few, if any, bonds are ever sued on. Yet it is often hard for immigrants to get any bonds, so the provision may have some value in debarring the unfit. If the “misunderstanding” above regretfully referred to by the Commissioner-General is cleared up, it will then be possible for the Secretary to admit on appeal, without bond, many who otherwise would have been obliged to give bond under Section 26.

Administration of the Law regarding Defectives.

After long discussion and much effort the following excluded class was added in Section 2 of the immigration act of 1907:—

“persons not comprehended within any of the foregoing excluded classes who are found to be and are certified by the examining surgeon as being mentally or physically defective, such mental or physical defect being of a nature which may affect the ability of such alien to earn a living.”

Section 10 of the act further provided that the decision of a board of special inquiry, based upon the certificate of the examining medical officer, shall be final in such cases, and no appeal shall be allowed.

The purpose of those who drew these provisions was to make the judgment of the medical officer conclusive as to those classes of persons liable to become public charges which are such by reason of being mentally or physically defective. In other words, the test was intended to be a physical and not an economic test.

Secretary Straus, who is not in sympathy with this provision, has, however, contrived to largely nullify it by promulgating a rule (Rule 6) as follows:—

“Where the medical certificate states that an alien is affected with any mental or physical defect, either of which defects is of a nature that might affect the ability of the alien to earn a living or make him likely to become a public charge, . . . the question to be determined is a practical one quite as much as a medical one, and boards of special inquiry should not only receive and carefully consider the certificate of the medical officer, but should likewise consider all the facts and surrounding circumstances of the case, and from the case as a whole reach their own conclusion as to whether the defect is of a nature which may, considering all the circumstances of the case, affect his ability to earn a living or render him likely to become a public charge.” . . .

The rule goes on to say that, if the board rejects the alien not only on account of the medical certificate, but on all the facts of the case, an appeal shall be allowed.

Now the only thing a board of special inquiry ever has to consider is the question whether on the facts an alien is in an excluded class. Thus, on the question whether an alien has been insane within five years, the medical certificate is properly considered as only one piece of evidence, because the question is as to the fact of insanity. But the law does not exclude “mental and physical defectives,” but those “found to be and certified by the examining surgeon” as defectives; the clause following

being only a definition of the word "defective." The only question open to the board of special inquiry is, therefore, the question of fact whether the alien was so "found" and "certified." The Secretary also claims the right to decide upon appeal whether the board of special inquiry did in fact base its decision solely upon the medical certificate or not, and further holds that the "ability of such alien to earn a living" refers only to the calling which the immigrant alleges he intends to pursue here, and not to his general fitness to support himself.

These rulings are a violation both of the letter and the spirit of the law. They give the Secretary the power by reversing decisions upon appeal to override not only the doctors, but the boards of special inquiry. They open the door to lying by the immigrant as to his intended occupation.

If the view held by the Secretary were correct, there would have been no occasion for creating this special class of mental and physical defectives; for, under the previous law, the surgeons certified mental and physical defects and the boards of special inquiry considered whether the defects certified were likely to prevent the alien's earning a living. The present rulings practically reduce the class of defectives to the class of persons "liable to become a public charge."

This is a good example of the way in which an official who is not in sympathy with a law is able to nullify it by rulings. If there is any doubt as to its construction, it should be amended so as to be clear beyond controversy.

Foreign-born Dependents and Delinquents.

The report of the Commissioner-General shows that a foreign-born population (which in 1900 constituted 13.6 per cent of the total population) furnished in 1908 134,094 persons, or 21.9 per cent of those in all the penal, reformatory, insane and charitable institutions of the United States, or 15.6 per cent of the criminals, 20.8 per cent of the paupers, and 29.5 per cent of the insane. (The proportion of the foreign-born to the total population has remained practically constant for several decades.)

It further appears that, of the 15,323 alien criminals, 8,197, or 53.5 per cent, had committed serious crimes as distinguished from minor offences.

The total number of aliens in these institutions was 44,985 as against 60,501 in 1908, an increase of 15,516, or about 34 per cent. The alien criminals increased from 9,825 to 15,323; the insane, from 19,764 to 25,606; the paupers, from 15,396 to 19,572. The criminals increased from 4,124 to 8,197 in grave offences, and only from 5,701 to 7,126 in minor offences.

Criminals in New York City.

The annual report of the Police Commissioner of the City of New York, for the calendar year 1908, throws considerable light on the criminal tendencies in that city of immigrants. In 1908, the total arrests were 244,822 as compared with 186,671 in 1906, an increase of nearly one-third; while the arrests for felony were 25,209 as compared with 18,948 in 1906, a similar increase.

As to the white slave traffic, the Commissioner says: "This traffic is found to be of large dimensions. There seems to be very slight difficulty in getting women into the country. The requirements of the immigration authorities are easily met by various simple subterfuges. The new law, which went into effect July 1, 1907, has been of great help, but the traffic still goes on, and will continue until drastic federal measures are taken to extirpate it." It appears that two women who were found guilty of entering the United States for immoral purposes in violation of the immigration law, and were ordered deported by the Department of Commerce and Labor, were subsequently allowed to marry United States citizens and thereby avoid deportation.

It further appears that, in spite of the fact that a man arrested and delivered to the United States authorities for deportation had been sentenced in Naples to eight days' solitary confinement, and that the Minister of the Interior of Italy had stated that the man had committed a brutal murder in Naples and attempted to kill several other persons, he was discharged by the United States authorities. There were 424 "black hand" cases reported, and 44 cases of bomb explosions among Italians. In regard to these cases the Commissioner says: "We are trying to handle mediæval criminals, men in whose blood runs the spirit of the vendetta, by modern Anglo-Saxon procedure. It is wrong to allow these people to step into the country."

The Crossing of Races as a Cause of National Decay.

The view, advanced in previous publications, that our type of national character is in serious danger from the interbreeding of native with alien stocks in this country, has been confirmed by a recent study by Alfred P. Schultz, just published, called *Race or Mongrel*. In this book, Mr. Schultz shows that all the great races of history, such as the Chaldeans, Assyrians, Medes, Persians, Phœnicians, Hindus, Egyptians, Greeks, and

Romans were great only so long as, like the Jews, they kept their race free from mixture with alien types.

In opposition to the superficial optimists, who claim that all sorts and conditions of race can be somehow welded together to produce a new and wonderful American breed, Mr. Schultz relies upon the recent discoveries in biology, tending to show the paramount importance of heredity. As well, he says, expect to produce a more perfect dog by breeding together at random a dozen different kinds. It is no less rational to expect to make mongrels into fine dogs by teaching them tricks than to imagine that a few years of schooling, flag exercises, and civic instruction will make the much crossed races of southern Europe into desirable American citizens. "The ideas, ideals, and institutions of a nation change with its racial composition." "Crossing must cease, or America will develop into another imperial Rome."

We commend this book and the authorities therein cited to the careful study of all who are interested in the immigration question.

Illiteracy of Immigrants.

Number of persons in each hundred immigrants over fourteen years of age who, *according to their own statement*, cannot write, or cannot read and write, their own language, from those races (*not nations*) which contributed upwards of 2,000 immigrants to the United States during any of the past three fiscal years:—

NORTHERN AND WESTERN EUROPE (Chiefly Teutonic and Keltic).	1906	1907	1908
Scandinavian	0.5	1.1	1.2
Scotch	0.5	1.0	1.4
English	1.0	1.4	1.4
Bohemian and Moravian	1.8	2.1	1.6
Irish	2.3	2.2	1.7
Welsh	—	—	1.8
Dutch and Flemish	4.0	4.2	3.4
Finnish	1.5	3.1	4.0
German	5.0	7.0	7.1
French	2.6	2.1	7.9
Italian (North)	12.0	10.0	8.6
Average of above	3.7	4.3	4.0

SOUTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE (Chiefly Slavic and Iberic.)

Magyar	12.7	10.5	11.1
Spanish	9.8	33.5	14.8
Slovak	22.0	21.5	23.6
Greek	23.5	30.6	28.5
Armenian	—	24.0	29.7
Croatian and Slovenian	39.9	36.4	30.0
Bulgarian, Servian and Montenegrin	41.8	44.8	35.6
Roumanian	36.5	39.3	38.7
Polish	37.1	41.2	40.4
Russian	39.0	44.5	41.4
Dalmatian, Bosnian and Herzegovinian	44.3	49.7	44.5
Italian (South)	53.8	53.3	50.7
Ruthenian	56.3	55.8	52.0
Lithuanian	56.8	62.4	60.2
Portuguese	58.6	76.6	64.8
Turkish	—	—	71.2
Average of above	42.0	42.2	40.1

OTHER RACES.

Chinese	5.6	—	—
Cuban	4.7	11.7	2.5
African (black)	12.3	16.2	20.0
Hebrew	27.0	29.0	30.3
Japanese	42.7	31.2	30.5
Syrian	54.8	55.1	54.7
Mexican	—	—	59.4

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The League is a strictly non-partisan and non-sectarian organization, with members from all parts of the United States. It advocates a more careful selection of immigration, but not the exclusion of any immigrants whose character and standards fit them to become citizens.

Immigration Figures for 1909

Comparison of the Fiscal Years ending June 30, 1908 and 1909

(From data furnished by the Commissioner-General of Immigration)

	1908	1909
Arrivals:		
Total	924,695	944,235
Immigrant aliens [See Note 1]	782,870	751,786
Non-immigrant aliens [See Note 1]	141,825	192,449
Debarred from entrance and returned within three years after landing	12,971	12,535
Per cent debarred and returned	1.7	1.7
Departures:		
Emigrant aliens [See Note 1]	395,073	225,802
Non-emigrant aliens [See Note 1]	319,755	174,590
Net addition to population [See Note 2]	209,867	543,843
Immigrant aliens:		
Excess over emigrant aliens	387,797	525,984
Teutonic and Keltic races, chiefly from North- ern and Western Europe	264,681	253,105
Per cent	33.8	33.7
Slavic and Iberic races, chiefly from Southern and Eastern Europe	441,803	460,005
Per cent	56.4	61.2
Asiatic	28,365	12,904
Per cent	3.6	1.7
Average money brought in dollars	22.78	23.05
Per cent of farm laborers, laborers, or servants .	47.9	54.7
Per cent destined for the four States of Ill., Mass., N.Y., and Pa.	61.7	60.9
Per cent destined for the States east of the Mississippi River and north of the Potomac and Ohio Rivers	80.5	80.9

	1908	1909
Per cent destined for other (Southern and Western) States	18.0	18.7
Per cent destined for Hawaii, Porto Rico, Alaska, and Philippine Islands	1.5	0.4
Immigrant aliens over 14 years of age:		
Number of illiterates [See Note 3]	174,603	193,480
Per cent of illiterates	26.0	29.2
Per cent bringing no money [See Note 4]		15.3
Per cent of "assisted" whose passage was paid for by others [See Note 4]		21.1
Per cent having no occupation [See Note 4]		20.1

NOTE 1.—DEFINITIONS. *Immigrant aliens*, those arriving whose permanent domicile has been outside the United States and who intend to reside permanently in the United States.

Emigrant aliens, those departing whose permanent residence has been in the United States who intend to reside permanently abroad.

Non-immigrant aliens, those residing abroad making a temporary trip to the United States.

Non-emigrant aliens, those residing in the United States making a temporary trip abroad.

NOTE 2.—This figure is ascertained by subtracting from the total of "immigrant aliens" and "non-immigrant aliens" the "emigrant aliens" and the "non-emigrant aliens."

NOTE 3.—It should be remembered that the figures of illiteracy are based upon the manifests, which in turn are made up from the statements of the immigrants. One test made at New York showed that 175 immigrants listed as able to read and write were, in fact, illiterate. The recent agitation for an educational test for immigrants has undoubtedly made the latter more disposed to assert their ability to read and write.

NOTE 4.—These figures are obtained by assuming that these immigrant aliens under 14 years of age brought no money, had no occupation and did not pay their own passage.

Largest Elements in Recent Immigration.

	1906	1907	1908	1909
South Italian	240,528	242,497	110,547	165,248
Polish	95,835	138,033	68,105	77,565
German	86,813	82,936	73,038	58,534
Hebrew	153,748	149,182	103,387	57,551

Remarks.

Non-immigrant Aliens. Although this year the "immigrant aliens" numbered some 30,000 less than last year, yet, if "non-immigrant aliens" be counted in, the total arrivals this year were 20,000 more than last year.

This distinction between immigrant and non-immigrant aliens is a recent one in the statistics, and is liable to be misleading. In the first place, it is based chiefly on the statement of the alien himself as to his place of permanent residence, and amounts to little more than the fact that he has been in the United States before. In the second place, it does not follow that an alien is more desirable from having been here before. This class corresponds substantially to that heretofore known as "birds of passage" which has been considered objectionable from many points of view.

If all arriving aliens be counted, it appears that the total has been near the 1,000,000 mark the past two years, having been slightly exceeded only in 1905, 1906 and 1907.

Illiteracy. The number of immigrants over fourteen years of age who could not read or write has increased from 26 per cent to 29.2 per cent. In 1907 it was 29.9 per cent. There has been a steady increase in illiteracy in recent years, owing to the increase in immigration from South-eastern Europe. In 1899, illiteracy was only 19.7 per cent.

Assisted Immigrants. It will be noted that nearly one-fifth of all immigrants over 14 years of age admitted that they were unable themselves to pay their own passage. The probability is that the true proportion was considerably larger than this, and that many who "paid their own passage" did so on money borrowed from professional promoters of immigration.

Race of Immigrants. The Teutonic and Keltic immigration was 4 per cent. less than in the year 1908, while the Slavic and Iberic was 4 per cent. larger.

If non-immigrant aliens be included, the percentage of Slavic and Iberic immigrants was 72.9 in 1909 as compared with 64.1 in 1907.

The Commissioner-General says in his report, pp. 111-112:—

"The Bureau has repeatedly called attention to the interesting and important economic problem constituted by this increase in the influx of peoples so different racially from the original settlers of the country—peoples who, in their antecedents, ideas, ideals (political and social), and methods of life and thought, are quite distinct from the

Teutonic and Keltic stocks, from which our immigration was for so many years derived. What will be the result of a continuance of this preponderance is a question which concerns every thoughtful patriotic American citizen. From one point of view, at least, heterogeneousness in a matter of this kind is undesirable, homogeneousness desirable. There can be but little homogeneity between the people of southern and eastern Europe and the real American. Several generations are required to produce assimilation, even under favorable circumstances.

“What is the explanation of this increased and still increasing influx of Iberic and Slavic people? Several facts may be stated in partial explanation—the poor conditions, political and social, of their native countries, the natural desire to better their condition, and the wish for liberty of thought and conscience that are to some extent inherent with all races of men. But these do not afford what is believed to be the principal, underlying, explanation. The truth of the matter is that the peasants of the countries mentioned have for a number of years supplied a rich harvest to the promoter of immigration. The promoter is usually a steamship ticket agent, employed on a commission basis, or a professional money lender, or a combination of the two. His only interest is the wholly selfish one of gaining his commission and collecting his usury. He is employed by the steamship lines large and small, without scruple, and to the enormous profit of such lines. The more aliens they bring over the more there are to be carried back if failure meets the tentative immigrant, and the more are likely to follow later if success is his lot. Whatever the outcome, it is a good commercial proposition for the steamship line. To say that the steamship lines are responsible, directly or indirectly, for this unnatural immigration is not a statement of a theory, but of a fact, and of a fact that sometimes becomes, indeed, if it is not always, a crying shame.”

The Commissioner-General refers (p. 112) to the reports of a special immigration inspector who studied the matter in Europe, and says the Immigration Bureau found “that all of the steamship lines engaged in bringing aliens from Europe to this country have persistently and systematically violated the law, both in its letter and spirit, by making use of every possible means to encourage the peasants of Europe to purchase tickets over their lines to this country.”

He also says (p. 113): “It may be asserted as a general rule that stimulated immigration is undesirable. As already stated, a large part of our immigration is known to be of that character.”

To the same effect Hon. William Williams, Commissioner at New York, says (p. 133):—

“I have already adverted to the easy-going character of our exclusion laws and stated that even their strict enforcement keeps out only the very bad elements of foreign countries. Between these elements and those that are a real benefit to the country (as so many of our immigrants are) there lies a class who may be quite able to earn a living here,

but who in doing so tend to pull down our standards of living. . . . I wish merely to emphasize, what must be known to every thinking person, that [this class] is coming here in considerable numbers and that we are making no effort to exclude it.

"Few people are bold enough to claim that we are in urgent need of any more immigrants who will crowd into the congested districts of our large cities. And yet this is where a large percentage of our immigrants now go and stay. At a time when portions of the West are crying for out-of-door labor, congestion in New York City may be increasing at the rate of many thousands per month. Another way of putting this is to say that much of our present immigration is not responsive to the legitimate demands for additional labor in the United States. I think this fact should be made known throughout those sections* of our country where many erroneously think that further restrictions of the right kind would increase the difficulties incident to obtaining labor for which there is a real demand. Quite the contrary is the case, for poor immigration tends to deter good immigrants from coming."

Bonding should be abolished. The League has frequently called attention to the futility and to the abuse of the practice of admitting aliens on bonds conditioned that they shall not become public charges (Act of 1907, § 26). In 1909, of 443 persons certified as mentally or physically defective to such an extent that their ability to earn a living was interfered with, 242, or more than one-half, were admitted on bond!

The Commissioner-General says (p. 115):—

"As a general rule, to which there should be only rare exceptions, it should be held unequivocally either that an alien is or that he is not admissible. A bond is by no means a complete protection against an alien's becoming a public charge. Many aliens change their name, rendering identification practically impossible, or remove from their original place of settlement, causing all account of the fact that a bond exists to be forgotten, or the bondsmen are or become irresponsible. Altogether the bonding system is very unsatisfactory."

As a practical matter, bonds have rarely, if ever, been sued on.

Division of Information. The Act of 1907 (§ 40) provided for the establishment of a division of information intended to effect a distribution of aliens from the ports of entry to places where their labor was desired.

It appears that this division sent out 1,925,714 letters and postal cards, which, if sent by private persons, would have cost for postage nearly \$20,000. There was also the expense of a large clerical force to attend to this correspondence. As a result, 4,168 alien immigrants out of 751,786 were placed in employment.

The League vigorously dissents from the statement of the chief of the division that "the argument that the division induces immi-

gration is without foundation in fact" (p. 238). It is not charged that the division intentionally promotes immigration; but the mere fact that such a division exists tends to spread the impression among aliens that the government is running an employment bureau, and gives unscrupulous steamship agents a chance to assure immigrants that employment will be found for them upon arrival.

It appears that the results accomplished by the division are, so far, insignificant, even at great expense. But, if distribution were accomplished on a larger scale, the result would be even worse; for, as soon as there is even a small relief in the pressure of congestion at the ports of entry, it operates as a force pump to suck in an even larger volume of immigration to fill the vacuum.

The division of information should be abolished unless or until adequate selective legislation assures the coming of those only whom it is desirable to have distributed.

Foreign-born Dependents and Delinquents.

The report of the Commissioner-General for 1908 shows that a foreign-born population (which in 1900 constituted 13.6 per cent of the total population) furnished in 1908 134,094 persons, or 21.9 per cent of those in all the penal, reformatory, insane, and charitable institutions of the United States, or 15.6 per cent of the criminals, 20.8 per cent of the paupers, and 29.5 per cent of the insane. (The proportion of the foreign-born to the total population has remained practically constant for several decades.)

It further appears that, of the 15,323 alien criminals, 8,197, or 53.5 per cent, had committed serious crimes as distinguished from minor offences.

The total number of aliens in 1904 in these institutions was 44,985 as against 60,501 in 1908, an increase of 15,516, or about 34 per cent. The alien criminals increased from 9,825 to 15,323; the insane, from 19,764 to 25,606; the paupers, from 15,396 to 19,572. The criminals increased from 4,124 to 8,197 in grave offences, and only from 5,701 to 7,126 in minor offences.

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NORTHERN AND WESTERN EUROPE (Chiefly Teutonic and Keltic).		1909
Scandinavian		0.2
Scotch		0.5
Finnish		0.5
English		0.7
Bohemian and Moravian		1.5
Irish		1.5
Dutch and Flemish		2.6
German		6.3
French		8.0
Italian (North)		8.4
Average of above		3.5

SOUTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE (Chiefly Slavic and Iberic).		
Spanish		10.6
Magyar		10.8
Slovak		19.7
Greek		26.1
Croatian and Slovenian		28.7
Hebrew		29.2
Polish		39.9
Russian		41.7
Portuguese		42.3
Bulgarian, Servian and Montenegrin		46.5
Ruthenian		51.3
Roumanian		52.3
Italian (South)		56.9
Lithuanian		58.2
Average of above		42.1

OTHER RACES.		
Cuban		2.4
African (black)		22.4
Armenian		22.5
Japanese		28.7
Syrian		52.5
Mexican		64.6
Average of above		42.4

The average illiteracy of non-immigrant aliens was 19.2 per cent.

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THE FUTURE OF AMERICAN IDEALS

BY
PRESCOTT F. HALL

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THE FUTURE OF AMERICAN IDEALS

BY PRESCOTT F. HALL

GOBINEAU once said, "America is likely to be, not the cradle of a new, but the grave of an old race." Is there, indeed, a danger that the race which has made our country great will pass away, and that the ideals and institutions which it has cherished will also pass?

It seems to be generally agreed that down to the period of fifteen years or so after the close of the Civil War there was a fairly definite American type, which had expressed itself, not so much in literature or art, as in politics and invention, and in certain social ideals. Washington and Lincoln, however different in some respects, both represented a certain type of English civilization, and both stood for certain political, social, and ethical points of view. The original settlers of this country were mainly Teutonic, belonging to what is now called the Baltic race, from northern Europe, which has always been distinguished for energy, initiative, and self-reliance. Impatient of much government, relying upon self-help rather than the paternalism of the State, this race was none the less firm in its allegiance to certain pretty definite religious and social standards. It insisted from the beginning on general education, and where opportunities for schooling were wanting there was nevertheless a wide training given by interchange of ideas in the home, on the farm, in the church, and in the town meeting. In town affairs every citizen was expected to take part, and usually did so, thus conferring a benefit on the community and receiving something in exchange. The result of this common racial origin and of these relatively homogeneous institutions was, as I have said, the amalgamation of the people into a fairly definite national type.*

* Perhaps the best statement of the proper conditions of race mixture is in Houston Stewart Chamberlain's *Foundations of the XIXth Century*,

What has happened since then? To-day, less than one-half of our people are descendants of the original stock and of the early settlers. Since 1820, we have received from Europe and Asia some twenty-eight millions of people. About one-third of these came prior to 1880 and were of races kindred to those already here; in other words, they had a common heritage of institutions if not of language, and were assimilated into the general population with comparative ease. The other two-thirds, the eighteen millions who have come since 1880, have been, on the other hand, of entirely different races—of Alpine, Mediterranean, Asiatic, and African stocks. These races have an entirely different mental make-up from the Baltic race; they bring with them an inheritance of widely differing political and social ideals, and a training under social and political institutions very different from ours. The Slavic races, for example, differ from the Teutonic in temperament as much as the emotional nations of the Mediterranean. The South Italian, which constitutes the largest element in our present immigration, is one of the most mixed races in Europe and is partly African, owing to the negroid migration from Carthage to Italy. The modern Greek is by no means the Greek of the time of Pericles, either in race or temperament. The Hebrew, which constitutes the next largest element of immigration, in spite of long residence in Europe is still, as it always has been, an Asiatic race; while the Syrians, Chinese, Japanese, and Hindus are still more removed from the civilization of northern Europe and America.

This movement of peoples from the Old World to the New is on a scale unprecedented in history, and its effects cannot fail to be profound and far-reaching. What will they be?

Americans have hitherto paid very little attention to this question: first, because they have not considered the difference between hostile and peaceful invasions in history; and second, because they fail to observe that recent immigration is of an entirely different kind from that which our fathers knew. The earlier immigration having been of kindred races and having produced no profound changes, our

vol. i, chap. iv, "The Chaos." He points out that the successful cases of amalgamation have been those where there has been an immigration of kindred races only, and such immigration has continued for a comparatively brief period and then ceased. This was precisely the situation in the United States prior to 1880.

people became used to the phenomenon and took it as a matter of course. At the present time, most of us consider that the movement now going on is similar to that which has been, and anticipate results no different from those previously observed.

If the million people coming every year came not as peaceful travelers, but as an invading hostile army, public opinion would be very different to what it is; and yet history shows that it has usually been the peaceful migrations and not the conquering armies which have undermined and changed the institutions of peoples. To take the classical error on this subject, we have been told repeatedly that, on the one hand, it was the conquering Goths and Vandals, and on the other hand, their own vice and luxury, which cost the Romans their empire. The real cause of the fall of Rome was neither of these things. It was the constant infiltration into Roman citizenship of large numbers of "barbarians"—that is, of races alien in instincts and habits of thought and action to the races which had built up the Roman Empire. For a time, indeed, the mold of political structure and social habit, though cracking, did not break; but the new-comers assimilated the Romans faster than they were themselves assimilated, and in time the mold broke in pieces. In precisely the same way some provinces of France are to-day becoming German, and others Italian, while the Germans are consciously making use of this method in their attempt to Prussianize Poland.

The "barbarians" of the present time, however, do not come from the plateaus of central Asia or from the jungles of Africa; they are the defective and delinquent classes of Europe—the individuals who have not been able to keep the pace at home and have fallen into the lower strata of its civilization.

Formerly, America was a hard place to get to, and a hard life awaited those who came, although the free and fertile land offered rich prizes to those with the energy to grasp them. To-day, the steamship agent is in every little town in Europe; fast steamers can bring thousands in a few days, and wages, often indeed not enough for an American to live decently on, but large in the eyes of the poor European peasants, await the immigrant on landing. There is, moreover, abundant testimony to the fact that much of the present immigration is not even a normal flow of population, but is

artificially stimulated in every possible way by the transportation companies which have many millions invested in the traffic.

Now there are two hopeful attitudes with regard to the possible dangers from this "peaceful invasion." One of them is that we can continue, as we have in the past, to assimilate all this material and turn it into good American citizens. This was the general attitude until recently, and is still the attitude of the average man who does not fear the future. The other attitude is that, although perhaps we cannot do this, although the aliens may to some extent assimilate us, yet the seething of the melting-pot will remove the dross and turn out a product, possibly new, but at any rate as good, if not better, than the old.

It is important to consider the truth of these points of view, because the social and political institutions of any country depend upon the type of its citizenship and are molded by it. Ruskin long ago observed that the only real wealth is human character, and what boots an extended railroad mileage or the fact that all our coal and minerals are dug up or all our trees cut down some years or decades sooner, if at the end our democracy goes to pieces? We have heard much lately of the conservation of natural resources, but the conservation of ideals is surely much more important.

Those who believe that we can assimilate all the aliens who may come usually qualify their belief by saying that, although we may not succeed entirely with the parents, we can succeed with the children, and that the salvation of the situation is the public school. They also point out that many immigrants have had little opportunity for improvement in their own countries and may develop rapidly in a new environment. Now just as the Latin races make a fetish of the State, we Americans are apt to make a fetish of education, and we constantly fail to discriminate between education as the molding of character and education as the imparting of information. Far the larger part of a child's education comes from his home and his companions, rather than from his schooling. Emulation and imitation are the two mainsprings of his growth. We should never forget the somewhat hackneyed truth that education, in general, brings out what is in the man, be it good or bad, and seldom puts much there which was not there before. For this reason it is very questionable whether the small amount of schooling the children of

most aliens receive plays a very large part in the total of influences brought to bear upon them; and it is still more debatable whether it appreciably alters their characters, or does anything more than bring out their inherited instincts and tendencies. Undoubtedly immigrant children crowd our schools because it aids them in the struggle for existence, and is usually paid for by some one else. Undoubtedly, also, many of them obtain high marks and show considerable capacity for storing up information.

Nevertheless, as has been said, schooling is but a small part of the influences to which the child is subject, and the tendency of recent immigrants to crowd into the cities and to settle in racial groups means that a very large part of the influences affecting the children will be those of their neighbors and co-workers of the same race. As in John Bunyan's parable, a small quantity of oil poured secretly and steadily upon a fire will cause it to withstand a large quantity of water poured upon it from all directions. Moreover, to a great extent this water of public-school education will fail to quench hereditary passions, because the latter are so strong that the former will be vaporized, so to speak, and pass off without closely touching them. Dr. Gustav LeBon, in his *Political Psychology*, has thus expressed this phase of the matter:

"Education merely sums up the results of a civilization; the institutions and the beliefs representing the needs of such civilization. If, then, a civilization does not harmonize with the ideas and sentiments of a people, the education setting forth this civilization will remain without effect upon it; in the same way that institutions corresponding to certain needs will not correspond to different needs."

The result in such a case will be, not a true amalgamation of races, but a mixture of peoples as in Austria-Hungary, living side by side, sharing certain interests in common, but never wholly merging into a general national type.

This is, indeed, what many educators like Dr. Charles W. Eliot expect and rejoice in. Dr. Eliot does not share in the second view—that the melting-pot will fuse the various races into one. And he rejoices because, in his view, half-breeds of any races are inferior to their parents, just as alloys of metals are not as valuable as the metals themselves. And he is right. The evidence on this point is convincing. Dr. Alfred P. Schultz, in his *Race or Mongrel*, gives numerous examples drawn from history, one of the most conspicuous

being that of the Jews, who, wherever they have kept their racial purity, have kept also their fine qualities of energy, push, and mental alertness, but have deteriorated rapidly when intermarried with other races. Humboldt and Darwin have declared the same truth. Agassiz, in a well-known passage, says:

“Let any one who doubts the evil of the mixture of races and who is inclined from mistaken philanthropy to break down all barriers between them come to Brazil. He cannot deny the deterioration consequent upon the amalgamation of races, more wide-spread here than in any country in the world and which is rapidly effacing the best qualities of the white man, the Indian, and the negro, leaving a mongrel nondescript type deficient in physical and mental energy.”

The same thing has happened in Cuba, in Mexico, and other countries to the south of us. But is there any danger of this occurring in the United States? It has not occurred in the past because the only race outside of the Teutonic immigrants present in large numbers has been the negro, and the Baltic races have an insurmountable prejudice against intermarriage with the black races. The Mediterranean and Asiatic races, on the other hand, have much less of this feeling. The negro strain in the South Italians has been already mentioned, and there are some examples of intermarriage between negroes and Jews. What would happen if a large Mediterranean population should be colonized in our Southern States and should interbreed with the negro population it finds there? This is not an imaginary possibility, for the dark-skinned races are more likely to settle in the southern part of this country; indeed, it must be so if Major Woodruff is correct in his view that the blond races cannot permanently live south of the fortieth parallel on account of the effects of the light on their nervous systems. Let us assume that some interbreeding with the negroes takes place. Will the descendants of the emotional, fiery Italians submit to the social judgment that a man with a sixteenth or a thirty-second part of negro blood is a colored man who must occupy a position socially, if not politically, inferior? Assuredly not, and thoughtful Southerners are already alarmed by this prospect and have announced through many of their industrial conventions that they do not desire the immigration of southeastern Europeans. The Western States feel the same way about Asiatics, both for racial and economic reasons.

Even if the result of the immigration of southeastern Europeans to the South should not immediately be an interbreeding, the result may be to add other problems to the one we already have there. Mr. Booker T. Washington, who has recently been investigating conditions in Europe, expresses this view when he says:

"I greatly fear that if these people should come in large numbers and settle in colonies outside the cities, where they would have comparatively few educational advantages, and where they would be better able and more disposed to preserve their native customs and languages, we might have a racial problem in the South more difficult and more dangerous than that which is caused by the presence of the negro." *

But whether the result be an amalgamation or a mixture, it is evident that the nation will be profoundly altered by the addition of large numbers of persons with alien habits and ideals, and that the social and political structure will be changed accordingly. Dr. LeBon, in the work above quoted, says:

"A preponderating influence of foreigners is a sure solvent of the existence of States. It takes away from a people its most precious possession—its soul. When aliens became numerous in the Roman Empire it ceased to be."

And again:

"It was a very sure instinct which taught the ancients the fear of strangers: they well knew that worth of a country is not measured by the number of its inhabitants, but by the number of its citizens."

Can we not already see certain effects of the newer immigration upon our social life? In many places the Continental Sunday, with its games and sports, its theatrical and musical performances, and its open bars, is taking the place of the Puritan Sabbath. In some of our factory towns there are many operatives living under the system of free marriage, and in at least one place the method of building tenements has been altered to correspond to this system. Professor Commons notes that we have already begun to despotize our institutions in order to deal with large masses of citizens not capable of intelligently supporting representative government. We see, also, the phenomena of political parties and groups on racial lines, with their own newspapers in

* The first part of this quotation is almost the exact language used by George Washington in a letter to John Adams, November 27, 1794. Of course, he was speaking of the relatively homogeneous immigration of his day.

foreign languages, seeking representation as racial units precisely as in Austria. These groups have already taken a conspicuous part in opposing immigration legislation, already existing or proposed, which makes it more difficult for their friends and relatives to come here; and, under our political system, these foreign-born groups already hold the balance of power in many places. This means that they often divide, not on public policy, but on some matter of racial advantage. In any case they do not and cannot combine to make parties like those of the older population.

All these changes may be good or bad, but they cannot fail to impress us; and, if these changes rise above the swirling mass of events and catch our eyes, we may be sure that more profound changes are in process beneath the surface.

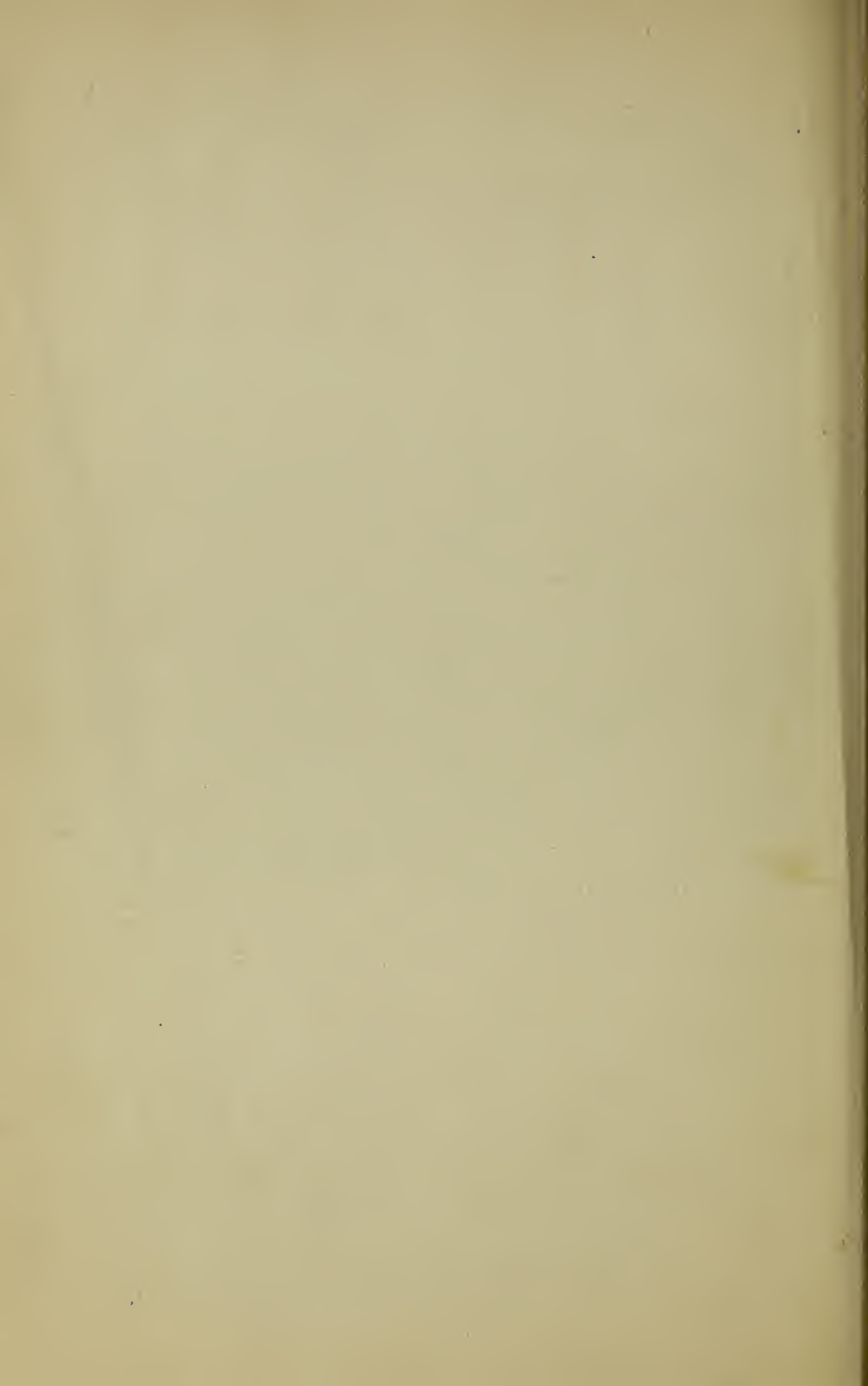
We have to contend not only with alien habits and ideals, and with the fact that these differences cannot be effaced by education in one or even two generations, but also with the fact that we are getting a great many immigrants who are below the mental, moral, and physical average of both our country and their own. A recent writer in a leading German review has said: "The immigration of the last decade has increased the number of hands, but not the number of heads, in the United States." While this may be an extreme statement, there is the unanimous testimony of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, the Commissioner at the Port of New York, and the Immigration Commission, which has recently spent several years studying the matter, to the fact that for one immigrant whose defects are so marked as to put him in the classes excluded by law there are hundreds, if not thousands, who are below the average of our people, and who, as George William Curtis put it, are "watering the nation's life blood."

Recent investigations in eugenics show that heredity is a much more important factor than environment as regards social conditions—in fact, that in most cases heredity is what makes the environment. This is confirmed by the practice of the insurance companies which attach the chief importance to the hereditary characteristics of an individual. If this position is sound, education and distribution can only palliate the evils and delay fundamental changes. As Professor Karl Pearson says: "You cannot change the leopard's spots, and you cannot change bad stock to good; you may dilute it, possibly spread it over a large area, spoiling

good stock, but until it ceases to multiply it will not cease to be."

Intelligent foreigners, like Bourget, H. G. Wells, and LeBon, are continually surprised that Americans pay so little regard to these matters. Already our neighbor to the north has become much more strict as to those she admits than we are; and, in fact, the Dominion is now rejecting at the border many whom we have admitted. And in our own practice we are not very logical, for we are much more stringent in regulations as to importing cattle, sheep, hogs, dogs, and horses than we are as to human beings. The English sparrow and the gypsy moth were not considered dangerous when first imported, but by their multiplication have done serious damage. The history of the Jukes family in New York State shows how much harm can be done by immigration of a single pair of defectives.

The foregoing is not intended to be a pessimistic wail. Our people are successful in part because they are optimistic, and in general they have little use for prophets of evil. Nor has the writer forgotten for a moment either what the country owes to past immigration, or that much of the present immigration is desirable and valuable. But our optimism should not be blind. Sumner once said of Garrison that he would go straight ahead even if the next step were over a precipice. If there is a precipice ahead we should avoid it while there is time, not merely for our own sake, but that the United States may continue strong to uphold the cause of democracy and liberty throughout the world.



Immigration Figures for 1911

Comparison of the Fiscal Years ending June 30, 1910 and 1911

(From data furnished by the Commissioner-General of Immigration)

Arrivals:	1910	1911
Total	1,198,037	1,030,300
Immigrant aliens [See Note 1]	1,041,570	878,587
Non-immigrant aliens [See Note 1]	156,467	151,713
Debarred from entrance and returned within three years after landing	26,965	25,137
Per cent debarred	2.3	2.4
Departures:		
Emigrant aliens [See Note 1]	202,436	295,666
Non-emigrant aliens [See Note 1]	177,982	222,549
Net addition to population [See Note 2]	817,619	512,085
Immigrant aliens:		
Excess over emigrant aliens	839,134	582,921
Teutonic and Keltic races, chiefly from Northern and Western Europe	323,788	319,015
Per cent	31.1	36.3
Slavic and Iberic races, chiefly from South- ern and Eastern Europe	667,807	508,663
Per cent	64.1	57.9
Asiatic	17,695	17,428
Per cent	1.7	2.0
Average money brought in dollars	27.07	33.48
Per cent of farm laborers, laborers, or ser- vants	57.6	50.0
Per cent destined for the four States of Ill., Mass., N.Y., and Pa.	60.7	59.5
Per cent destined for the States east of the Mississippi River and north of the Poto- mac and Ohio Rivers	81.5	81.0

	1910	1911
Per cent destined for other (Southern and Western) States	17.9	18.4
Per cent destined for Hawaii, Porto Rico, Alaska, and Philippine Islands	0.6	0.6
Immigrant aliens over 14 years of age:		
Number of illiterates [See Note 3]	258,140	182,273
Per cent of illiterates	28.0	24.3
Per cent bringing no money [See Note 4]	12.6	14.2
Per cent of "assisted" whose passage was paid for by others [See Note 4]	17.9	22.9
Per cent having no occupation [See Note 4]	15.1	16.8

NOTE 1. DEFINITIONS. *Immigrant aliens*, those arriving whose permanent domicile has been outside the United States and who intend to reside permanently in the United States.

Emigrant aliens, those departing whose permanent residence has been in the United States who intend to reside permanently abroad.

Non-immigrant aliens, those residing abroad making a temporary trip to the United States.

Non-emigrant aliens, those residing in the United States making a temporary trip abroad.

NOTE 2.—This figure is ascertained by subtracting from the total of "immigrant aliens" and "non-immigrant aliens" the "emigrant aliens" and the "non-emigrant aliens."

NOTE 3.—It should be remembered that the figures of illiteracy are based upon the manifests, which in turn are made up from the statements of the immigrants. The recent agitation for an educational test for immigrants has undoubtedly made the latter more disposed to assert their ability to read and write.

NOTE 4.—These figures are obtained by assuming that the immigrant aliens under 14 years of age brought no money, had no occupation, and did not pay their own passage.

Largest Elements in Recent Immigration.

	1908	1909	1910	1911
South Italian	110,547	165,248	192,673	159,638
Hebrew	103,387	57,551	84,260	91,223
Polish	68,105	77,565	128,348	71,446
German	73,038	58,534	71,380	66,471

Illiteracy.

Per cent of illiterates in total immigration of the various races over 14 years of age.

NORTHERN AND WESTERN EUROPE (Chiefly Teutonic and Keltic).										1911
Scandinavian	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0.2
Scotch	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0.5
Finnish	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0.5
English	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0.7
Welsh	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1.0
Irish	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1.2
Bohemian and Moravian	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1.3
Dutch and Flemish	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1.8
German	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4.2
Italian (North)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	5.6
French	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	6.1
Average of above	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2.2

SOUTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE (Chiefly Slavic and Iberic).

Magyar	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	9.4
Spanish	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	15.0
Hebrew	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	18.7
Slovak	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	19.2
Greek	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	22.3
Croatian and Slovenian	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	23.7
Bulgarian, Servian, and Montenegrin	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	29.2
Roumanian	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	31.0
Polish	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	32.1
Russian	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	37.4
Dalmatian, Bosnian, and Herzegovinian	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	40.8
Italian (South)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	42.8
Ruthenian	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	45.1
Portuguese	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	50.0
Lithuanian	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	50.6
Average of above	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	31.9

OTHER RACES.

Cuban	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2.1
African (black)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	18.4
Japanese	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	21.2
Armenian	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	21.4
Syrian	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	42.5
Mexican	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	43.2
Average of above	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	31.5

The average illiteracy of non-immigrant aliens was 8.7 per cent.

Extracts from the Report of the Commissioner-General.

Distribution of Immigrants (pp. 5-7): "Various organizations are struggling with this 'problem' of putting the alien 'where he is needed' and preventing his settling in colonies in the large cities and centers of industry, to which places most immigrants of to-day wish to go. Some of these organizations are purely of a business nature. Others are, or pretend to be, patriotic or philanthropic in their purposes. Still others combine two or all three of these features. In their actual and avowed purposes, they range all the way from combinations of ticket agents, money lenders, and labor agencies working to a large extent for the benefit of the steamship companies and employers of cheap unskilled labor (mentioned more in detail at p. 119), or labor agencies on the Mexican border engaged in procuring Mexican peons and distributing them throughout the West and Southwest, to the State and municipal organizations conducted *bona fide* and from high, pure motives, but often incidentally producing some of the same effects as the selfish organizations.

"These various schemes for distribution in the broad sense are subject to several practical difficulties which are often overlooked by those who deal with the matter from the theoretical viewpoint only, viz.:

"1. If it ever was feasible to devise a complete, efficient plan for the general distribution of aliens, it is probably now too late to stem the tide which has set toward certain localities where alien nucleus colonies have been established, constituting additional reasons why the new immigrants are drawn to them.

"2. Even though a certain number of aliens may be 'distributed,' they will not remain where placed unless the arrangement coincides with their desires and unless physically and mentally adapted to their new surroundings, as a large percentage of those who now insist on herding in the cities never will be.

"3. Distribution is not now, if it ever was, the real remedy for the evils which admittedly result from immigration; although, doubtless, if some far-reaching plan could have been devised years ago it might have alleviated or postponed some of those evils, at least in their local manifestations as observed in the congested centers, and, doubtless, also, some slight good effect may be expected to result incidentally from the efforts exerted to induce settlers to locate in agricultural districts in the manner specified in the law above quoted.

"4. As a matter of fact, in the present condition of the immigration business (for it has become a business in the fullest sense of that term), I am inclined to believe that our difficulties in the aggregate, viewing the

matter from a national standpoint, are increased rather than reduced by the various schemes—private, charitable, and public—that are being operated or advocated and advertised for the general distribution of aliens.

“The fourth point above stated needs some further consideration. So far as transoceanic immigration is concerned, the greatest beneficiaries are the steamship lines; with respect to Mexican peon labor, the large employers and agencies. Any plan for the distribution of alien laborers, carried out, must have a tendency to increase immigration and confer additional benefits upon the beneficiaries mentioned. If the distribution affects the aliens at the time of importation, and extends the fields in which they may be placed at a wage sufficient to afford a bare existence, the demand for additional numbers is increased directly. The theory upon which most of these plans rest, that there is an almost unlimited demand for common labor in this country, is now, and has been for some time, unwarranted by the facts. It is true, of course, that such concerns as railway lines, constructing contractors, meat-packing houses, and the like, using large numbers of unskilled laborers, are always glad to have a surplus on hand, so as to be in position to keep wages at the minimum; but the demand in this direction is too frequently created by the refusal of the employers to pay a living wage or to furnish steady employment to be a reliable indication of actual conditions. . . . Because the farmer needs additional help during certain periods, it does not follow that the country should be flooded with cheap foreign labor which during the greater part of the year is forced to accept a wage that affords only a bare subsistence, tending to reduce the American standard of wages and living. . . .

“This so-called problem of distribution, in so far as it relates to others than settlers (*i.e.*, those who desire to acquire land), will, it seems to me, be solved by the natural law of supply and demand, assuming, of course, that the aliens are fit subjects of distribution, as otherwise artificial means could have no lasting effect. Thus, if it is true that our large centers are congested with people who are barely able to eke out an existence, while on the other hand there is a scarcity of labor in other sections, the demand should be sufficiently insistent to produce such an offer of wages and working conditions as would influence those in the congested districts to take advantage of it; for, after all, the average wage earner, if unencumbered, has but little preference between different sections, providing wages are made an inducement; but just so long as the demand is met by importing cheap labor from abroad this congestion must continue, and while the demand will in a way be supplied that result will be brought about only to the ultimate disadvantage or utter destruction of that kind of living and wages which we have been so proud to term the ‘American standard.’”

Sources of and Inducements to Immigration (pp. 117, 118):

“Considerable space has been devoted in previous reports to this important and interesting subject. It has been shown that (1) the sources of our immigration have undergone a decided change in recent years, one which is of great significance to the country and its people, and (2) much of the

immigration which we now receive is artificial, in that it is induced or stimulated and encouraged by persons and corporations whose principal interest is to increase the steerage-passenger business of their lines, to introduce into the United States an over-abundant, and therefore cheap, supply of common labor, or to exploit the poor ignorant immigrant to their own advantage by loaning him money at usurious rates; or, as now so frequently happens, in the organized and systematized state of the business, a combination of the three elements, so that money-lenders and ticket agents abroad, the transportation companies, and the labor brokers and large employers of common labor here each receive their portion of the benefits and proceeds. Meanwhile the alien and the country suffer—the alien by being thrown into new and untried conditions, not conducive to his health or happiness, under circumstances which place him at a serious disadvantage by reason of being loaded with debt, which, unless promptly settled, multiplies with interest, and which he knows must soon destroy his own or his family's property mortgaged in security; and the country by having its standards of labor, wages, and living not only temporarily lowered, but permanently injured—and who can question the economic axiom that injury to its wage-earners is a direct injury to a country?"

Aliens with Physical, Mental, and Moral Defects (p. 123):

"It is of prime importance now and always that the struggle in which a nation must constantly be engaged to maintain at a high level the physical, mental, and moral welfare of its citizens shall not be rendered difficult or seriously complicated by the entry into its midst of the physically, mentally, or morally unsound, for whose existence it is not accountable and whose reclamation or regeneration is a matter for which their native countries are and ought to be responsible. In this particular branch of the control and restriction of immigration, therefore, the Government can hardly go too far; and, although we have been advancing, yet we have not gone far enough."

Extracts from the Report of the Commissioner of Immigration at New York.

Separation of Families (Report of the Commissioner-General, p. 147): "In the administration of any law which calls for the application of drastic remedies, the blame for the ensuing hardship is quite often placed where it does not belong, namely, on the executive authorities, and it would be too much to expect that executive authorities called upon to apply such unpleasant remedies as deportation would escape their share of such unmerited censure. It is quite impossible to deal exhaustively with this subject here, and I shall confine myself to saying a few words on one phase of hardship which is often spoken of as 'separation of families,' a phrase which has come to be used against the Government without regard to the facts. For instance, in almost all cases to which it is pretended that it applies the 'separation' was voluntary and occurred in Europe. Frequently, in addition, it was to enable the well members to secure a footing in this country and later plead for the admission of diseased members on the ground that the family should be together. When in such cases we deny landing to diseased members we are merely preventing the union of the family in this country in violation of law; we are not standing in the way of its becoming reunited elsewhere. Of course, even this action causes misery, but it is misery for which the executive officials are no more responsible than they are for that which exists in abundance in every large city of the United States."

Immigration in General (Report of the Commissioner-General, p. 152): "There are many who do not appreciate the fact that the law excludes only manifestly objectionable classes of immigrants, such as idiots, imbeciles, the insane, paupers, persons likely to become public charges, persons with loathsome or dangerous contagious diseases, persons whose physical or mental defects prevent them from earning a living, criminals, procurers, and prostitutes, so that even under a strict execution of the law we can keep out only persons whose presence would be detrimental to any community. Between these on the one hand and the class of immigrants on the other hand who are a real benefit to the country, as so large a number are, there are many who, though able to earn a living, can not in any sense be termed desirable. They are nevertheless admissible under the low requirements of existing law, which makes no provision whatever for selecting desirable immigrants, though there are many reasons why following the example of at least one other country we should take early steps to do this. The new immigration, unlike that of earlier years, proceeds in part from the poorer elements of the countries of southern and eastern Europe and from backward races with customs

and institutions widely different from ours and without the capacity of assimilating with our people as did the early immigrants. Many of those coming from these sources have very low standards of living, possess filthy habits, and are of an ignorance which passes belief. . . . Such immigrants differ widely also from the earlier ones in respect of their occupations and the localities to which they go. Contrary to what was formerly the case, a large proportion are unskilled laborers who go to the manufacturing and mining centers, where the Immigration Commission recently found that there existed an oversupply of unskilled foreign labor. Over three-fifths remain in five Eastern cities, where they begin their American life among unfavorable surroundings and exposed to many evil influences. They often herd together, forming in effect foreign colonies in which the English language is almost unknown. Miserable economic and sanitary conditions exist in many of these colonies; witness, for instance, in New York City the frequency with which the State factory inspectors are compelled to attach the red 'unclean' tag to articles made in shops and factories where aliens are employed, the threatened use of this tag constituting often the best means at their disposal of compelling the maintenance of even a semblance of cleanliness in such places.

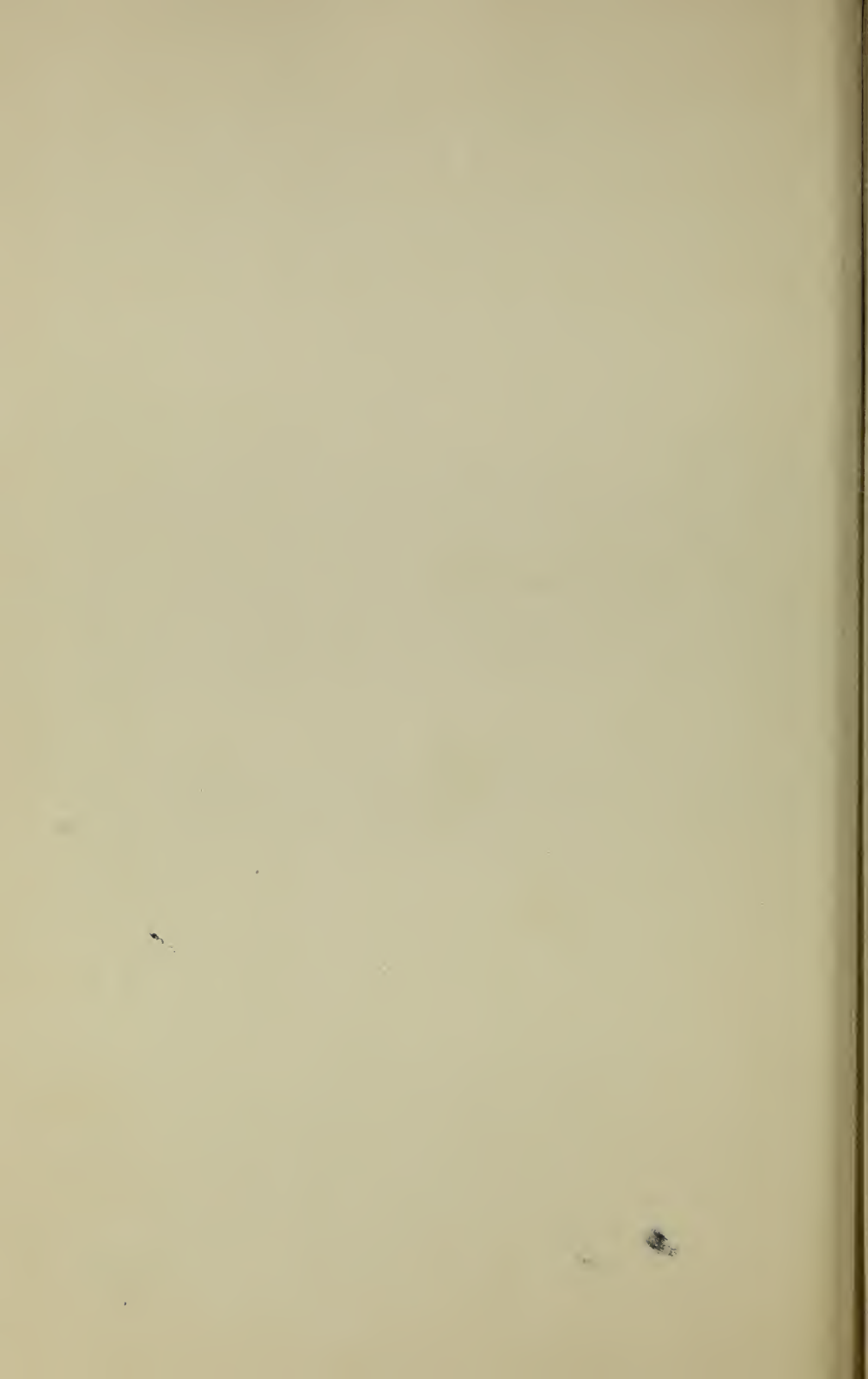
"Repeatedly the new immigrant obtains his job at the expense of an older employee, who loses his. Certain employers seek new immigrant labor in preference to other and more efficient labor, of which there may be an abundance, because of the willingness of the new immigrants (or 'greenies,' as they are termed) to work at the outset unduly long hours or at unduly low wages, or both, and perhaps also to pay the foreman or padrone a bonus. Later as they become more proficient and demand higher wages they are discharged and their places filled with immigrants who have arrived more recently. Experiences of this sort are frequent among immigrant tailors, cap makers, carpenters, painters, bakers and others. These are matters which have a direct bearing upon the unsanitary conditions that surround the work and lives of so many immigrants of certain classes, especially in the large cities. . . .

"In the estimation of most impartial observers a certain minority of the new immigration is undesirable from the point of view of the interests of the United States, and this question can not properly be considered from any other point of view. The real issue to-day is whether or not means should be found to keep out this undesirable minority, yet this issue is often successfully confused by interested persons who seek to make it appear that those who merely advocate further reasonable restrictions are exclusionists and hostile to immigration as a whole. The desirable immigrant will always be welcome, and one of the best ways to secure him is to take stringent measures to keep out those who are undesirable. That enormous benefits have accrued to this country through immigration is a fact which requires no emphasis and which none deny whose views are entitled to any weight, but this is irrelevant upon the point whether to-day we should not curtail somewhat that portion of the immigration which is undesirable. Those opposing all further restriction will usually be found doing so in the interest, not of the United States or of immigration in general, but of some particular class.

"It is well for the American people to realize that there are agencies at work to introduce some immigrants for mercenary or humanitarian reasons regardless of whether or not the best interests of the United States demand their presence here. If this country is to open its doors to certain classes of unfortunates, it is difficult to see why we should not do so as to the unfortunates of the world, including those among the Africans and Hindoos. The very suggestion of any such course answers itself. The time has come when it is necessary to put aside false sentimentality in dealing with the question of immigration and to give more consideration to its racial and economic aspects, and in determining what additional immigrants we shall receive to remember that our first duty is to our own country."

For publications and membership in the Immigration Restriction League, address the Secretary, 11 Pemberton Square, Boston, Mass. The dues for membership are as follows: For *annual* membership, one dollar, payable in advance upon admission and upon January 1st of each year; for *life* membership, ten dollars, payable upon admission, life members being exempt from annual dues.

The League is a strictly non-partisan and non-sectarian organization, with members from all parts of the United States. It advocates a more careful selection of immigration, but not the exclusion of any immigrants whose character and standards fit them to become citizens.



Immigration Figures for 1912

Comparison of the Fiscal Years ending June 30, 1911 and 1912

(From data furnished by the Commissioner-General of Immigration)

Arrivals:	1911	1912
Total	1,030,300	1,017,155
Immigrant aliens [See Note 1]	878,587	838,172
Non-immigrant aliens [See Note 1]	151,713	178,983
Debarred from entrance and returned within three years after landing	25,137	18,513
Per cent debarred	2.4	1.8
Departures:		
Total	518,215	615,292
Emigrant aliens [See Note 1]	295,666	333,262
Non-emigrant aliens [See Note 1]	222,549	282,030
Net addition to population [See Note 2]	512,085	401,863
Immigrant aliens:		
Excess over emigrant aliens	582,921	504,910
Teutonic and Keltic races, chiefly from Northern and Western Europe	319,015	273,927
Per cent	36.3	32.7
Slavic and Iberic races, chiefly from South- ern and Eastern Europe	508,663	506,132
Per cent	57.9	60.4
Asiatic	17,428	18,527
Per cent	2.0	2.2
Average money brought in dollars	33.48	36.21
Per cent of farm laborers, laborers, or ser- vants	50.0	52.7
Per cent destined for the four States of Ill., Mass., N.Y., and Pa.	59.5	58.0
Per cent destined for the States east of the Mississippi River and north of the Poto- mac and Ohio Rivers	81.0	81.3

Immigrant aliens:	1911	1912
Per cent destined for other (Southern and Western) States	18.4	17.7
Per cent destined for Hawaii, Porto Rico, Alaska, and Philippine Islands	0.6	1.0
Immigrant aliens over 14 years of age:		
Number of illiterates [<i>See Note 3</i>]	182,273	180,308
Per cent of illiterates	24.3	24.9
Per cent bringing no money [<i>See Note 4</i>]	14.2	15.7
Per cent of "assisted" whose passage was paid for by others [<i>See Note 4</i>]	22.9	25.9
Per cent having no occupation [<i>See Note 4</i>]	16.8	16.2

NOTE 1. DEFINITIONS. *Immigrant aliens*, those arriving whose permanent domicile has been outside the United States and who intend to reside permanently in the United States.

Emigrant aliens, those departing whose permanent residence has been in the United States who intend to reside permanently abroad.

Non-immigrant aliens, those residing abroad making a temporary trip to the United States.

Non-emigrant aliens, those residing in the United States making a temporary trip abroad.

NOTE 2.—This figure is ascertained by subtracting from the total of "immigrant aliens" and "non-immigrant aliens" the "emigrant aliens" and the "non-emigrant aliens."

NOTE 3.—It should be remembered that the figures of illiteracy are based upon the manifests, which in turn are made up from the statements of the immigrants. The recent agitation for an educational test for immigrants has undoubtedly made the latter more disposed to assert their ability to read and write.

NOTE 4.—These figures are obtained by assuming that the immigrant aliens under 14 years of age brought no money, had no occupation, and did not pay their own passage.

Largest Elements in Recent Immigration.

	1909	1910	1911	1912
South Italian	165,248	192,673	159,638	135,830
Polish	77,565	128,348	71,446	85,163
Hebrew	57,551	84,260	91,223	80,595
German	58,534	71,380	66,471	65,343

Remarks. The total number of aliens arriving has been over 1,000,000 for each of the three years 1910–1912, but the net addition to population in 1912 was less than one-half of that in 1910. The percentage of the debarred decreased as compared with last year by 25 per cent.

The proportion of aliens from Southern and Eastern Europe was larger last year than in 1911, while that of aliens from Northern and Western Europe has declined steadily for the past three years. On the other hand, the proportions of assisted aliens and of Asiatics have shown a steady increase.

Appeals and Admissions on Bond. Of 4,678 appeals from excluding decisions disposed of during the year, 51 per cent were debarred, 33 per cent were admitted without any bond, and 16 per cent were admitted on bond.

Of 242 applying for admission on bond without appeal, 68 per cent were admitted.

The Commissioner-General endorses the Illiteracy Test.
[The following paragraphs were in the Report of the Commissioner-General for 1912 as sent to the public printer, and were subsequently stricken out by the order of Secretary Nagel. They are valuable as showing the opinion of a practical expert in immigration matters.]

"During the past two years my attention has been directed to numerous arguments both favorable and unfavorable to the illiteracy test, and I have been so much impressed with those of the former character that gradually I have come to believe that the situation in the United States produced by immigration heretofore comparatively unrestricted (which situation has been described in previous reports of the Bureau, as well as in the comprehensive report of the Immigration Commission, recently published) demands that some method be adopted by which the influx of foreigners so unduly large as to be unhealthful, may be so extensively reduced in actual numbers as materially to affect the existing purely economic phase of the proposition. It seems to have been shown quite clearly that this result would be accomplished by the 'illiteracy test.' . . .

"An individual alien, although unable to read and write, might prove to be a valuable acquisition to the country; but when immigration is considered in larger proportions the case of this individual would sink into insignificance. Take, for instance, a thousand aliens who are literate and compare them with a thousand who are illiterate. While individual exceptions to the rule, as already indicated, would undoubtedly be found, there can be little question that among the latter thousand there would be a great many more undesirable from the moral, mental, and physical standpoint than among the former thousand. Another consideration which impresses me with respect to the 'illiteracy test' is the fact that as a rule the literate alien generally is better qualified than the illiterate to acquire a knowledge of and respect for our political and social institutions, and may, therefore, be more readily assimilated."

Illiteracy.

Per cent of illiterates in total immigration of the various races over 14 years of age.

NORTHERN AND WESTERN EUROPE (Chiefly Teutonic and Keltic).		1912
Scandinavian		0.2
Scotch		0.4
English		0.5
Welsh		0.5
Finnish		1.0
Bohemian and Moravian		1.0
Irish		1.2
Dutch and Flemish		1.5
German		4.4
Italian (North)		5.1
French		6.1
Average of above		2.4

SOUTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE (Chiefly Slavic and Iberic).		
Magyar		9.2
Slovak		16.4
Spanish		18.3
Hebrew		19.1
Greek		21.8
Croatian and Slovenian		25.2
Polish		32.4
Bulgarian, Servian, and Montenegrin		31.5
Roumanian		34.4
Russian		37.6
Dalmatian, Bosnian, and Herzegovinian		38.7
Italian (South)		40.3
Ruthenian		41.4
Portuguese		45.0
Lithuanian		49.6
Average of above		30.6

OTHER RACES.		
Cuban		1.8
African (black)		18.1
Armenian		22.8
Japanese		28.3
Syrian		39.7
Mexican		44.5
Average of above		33.2

The average illiteracy of non-immigrant aliens was 10.5 per cent.

Immigration Figures for 1913

Comparison of the Fiscal Years ending June 30, 1912 and 1913

(From data furnished by the Commissioner-General of Immigration)

Arrivals:	1912	1913
Total	1,017,155	1,427,227
Immigrant aliens [See Note 1]	838,172	1,197,892
Non-immigrant aliens [See Note 1]	178,983	229,335
Debarred from entrance and returned within three years after landing	18,513	23,399
Per cent debarred	1.8	1.6
Departures:		
Total	615,292	611,924
Emigrant aliens [See Note 1]	333,262	308,190
Non-emigrant aliens [See Note 1]	282,030	303,734
Net addition to population [See Note 2]	401,863	815,303
Immigrant aliens:		
Excess over emigrant aliens	504,910	889,702
Teutonic and Keltic races, chiefly from Northern and Western Europe	273,927	337,800
Per cent	32.7	28.2
Slavic and Iberic races, chiefly from South- ern and Eastern Europe	506,132	802,668
Per cent	60.4	67.1
Asiatic	18,527	21,449
Per cent	2.2	1.8
Average money brought in dollars	36.21	34.14
Per cent of farm laborers, laborers, or ser- vants	52.7	57.7
Per cent destined for the four States of Ill., Mass., N.Y., and Pa.	58.0	60.3
Per cent destined for the States east of the Mississippi River and north of the Poto- mac and Ohio Rivers	81.3	85.2
Per cent destined for other (Southern and Western) States	17.7	14.2
Per cent destined for Hawaii, Porto Rico, Alaska, and Philippine Islands	1.0	0.6

Immigrant aliens over 14 years of age:

Number of illiterates [See Note 3]	180,308	275,314
Per cent of illiterates	24.9	26.2
Per cent bringing no money [See Note 4]	15.7	13.7
Per cent of "assisted" whose passage was paid for by others [See Note 4]	25.9	22.8
Per cent having no occupation [See Note 4]	16.2	14.4

Appeals and admissions on bond:

Total appeals to Secretary of Labor	4,678	4,674
Per cent admitted on bond	33	28
Per cent admitted without bond	16	15
Per cent debarred	51	57
Per cent admitted on bond without appeal,	68	68

NOTE 1.—DEFINITIONS. *Immigrant aliens*, those arriving whose permanent domicile has been outside the United States and who intend to reside permanently in the United States.

Emigrant aliens, those departing whose permanent residence has been in the United States who intend to reside permanently abroad.

Non-immigrant aliens, those residing abroad making a temporary trip to the United States.

Non-emigrant aliens, those residing in the United States making a temporary trip abroad.

The figures based on these definitions are not reliable as they depend solely upon the alien's statement of his intention.

NOTE 2.—This figure is ascertained by subtracting from the total of "immigrant aliens" and "non-immigrant aliens" the "emigrant aliens" and the "non-emigrant aliens."

NOTE 3.—It should be remembered that the figures of illiteracy are based upon the manifests, which in turn are made up from the statements of the immigrants. The recent agitation for an educational test for immigrants has undoubtedly made the latter more disposed to assert their ability to read and write.

NOTE 4.—These figures are obtained by assuming that the immigrant aliens under 14 years of age brought no money, had no occupation, and did not pay their own passage.

Largest Elements in Recent Immigration

	1910.	1911.	1912.	1913.
South Italian	192,673	159,638	135,830	231,613
Polish	128,348	71,446	85,163	174,365
Hebrew	84,260	91,223	80,595	101,330
German	71,380	66,471	65,343	80,865

Remarks.—The total of alien arrivals for 1913, namely 1,427,227, is the largest in the history of the country, with the exception of 1907, when it was 1,438,469. The total immigration since 1820 (all aliens to 1904 inclusive, and "immigrant aliens" since) is 30,808,944.

It should be noted that although the immigrant aliens were only about one-third more than last year, the net addition to population was more than double that in 1912.

As time goes on, and the more civilized portions of Europe are drained of immigrants, the steamship companies, to keep up and to increase their business, are obliged to seek passengers in the more remote and less developed portions of Europe and in Asia. Hence the increase in numbers this year was accompanied, as it always is, by the usual signs of a lower quality: a falling off in the proportion of the Teutonic and Keltic races; an increase in the proportion of Slavic and Iberic races; a reduction in the amount of money brought; an increase in the number of unskilled laborers; an increase in the number destined for Illinois, Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania; a decrease in the number going to the South and West; and an increase in illiteracy. The immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe increased nearly 60 per cent over 1912, while the number of Armenians and Syrians nearly doubled. There were notable increases in the illiteracy of Dalmatians, Bosnians, and Herzegovinians, of South Italians, of Syrians, and of non-immigrant aliens.

The decrease of 10 per cent in the proportion of those debarred and returned, in spite of the lower quality of the immigration, bears witness to the justice in the complaints of the Commissioner-General and of the Commissioner at New York as to the lack of proper facilities for inspecting the enormous shiploads arriving in a single day, and of the inadequate numbers of surgeons, inspectors, and interpreters. In view of the fact that the head tax produces enough revenue to permit a great improvement in these respects, the failure of Congress to appropriate sufficient funds to remedy existing defects is inexcusable.

Report of the Commissioner at New York.—It is much to be regretted that Hon. William Williams resigned at the beginning of the current fiscal year. He was a faithful and efficient commissioner, and brought the Ellis Island station to a high state of efficiency. In his report, he advocates changing the law so that any alien becoming a public charge within five years after landing (instead of three years) shall be deported, unless he can show that he became such from causes arising subsequent to landing. At present, the burden is on the government to show the causes arose prior to landing. Speaking of the existing law, he says:—

“It is good as far as it goes, but excludes only manifestly objectionable classes. . . . At the same time that the requirements of the law are low, a large portion of the immigrants are from the backward races and from the poorer classes of some of the poorer countries in Europe; the best laborers and artisans of the best countries and races are not coming to us in large numbers. . . . Because the undesirable minority comes as a part of and is mingled with a lot of desirable immigrants, it fails unfortunately to attract the attention it deserves, and is thus still permitted to enter.”

Illiteracy

Per cent of illiterates in total immigration of the various races over 14 years of age.

NORTHERN AND WESTERN EUROPE (Chiefly Teutonic and Keltic):										1913
Scandinavian	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0.3
Scotch	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0.5
Welsh	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0.6
Finnish	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0.7
English	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0.9
Irish	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1.0
Bohemian and Moravian	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1.1
Dutch and Flemish	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1.9
German	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	6.3
Italian (North)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	6.7
French	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	7.9
Average of above	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3.2

SOUTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE (Chiefly Slavic and Iberic):										
Magyar	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	9.9
Slovak	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	14.3
Spanish	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	18.3
Hebrew	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	21.5
Croatian and Slovenian	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	23.2
Greek	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	23.4
Polish	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	32.9
Bulgarian, Servian, and Montenegrin	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	34.5
Roumanian	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	35.2
Russian	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	35.7
Ruthenian	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	40.0
Dalmatian, Bosnian, and Herzegovinian	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	47.4
Italian (South)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	48.6
Lithuanian	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	48.9
Portuguese	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	61.9
Average of above	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	35.1

OTHER RACES:										
Chinese	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1.2
Cuban	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1.4
African (black)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	15.3
Armenian	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	26.2
Japanese	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	30.8
Mexican	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	46.7
Syrian	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	52.5
Turkish	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	65.6
Average of above	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	33.4

The average illiteracy of non-immigrant aliens was 14.4 per cent.

The Reading Test.

WHY IT SHOULD BE ADOPTED.

I. The American People have Emphatically declared Themselves in Favor of Restriction of Immigration by this Method.

A. VOTES IN CONGRESS IN FAVOR OF THE TEST.

In the last eighteen years there have been 19 votes in favor of the reading test for aliens. Three of these were votes in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, and 16 were votes passing a bill, of which two were votes to pass over a presidential veto. The dates and the size of the votes were as follows:—

1896, May 20	House	195 to 26
Dec. 17	Senate	52 to 10
1897, Feb. 9	Senate	34 to 31
Mar. 3	House	193 to 37 (over President Cleveland's veto)
1898, Jan. 17	Senate	45 to 28
1902, May 22	House	86 to 7 (in committee)
May 27	House	No division
1906, May 23	Senate	Test added by amendment
June	Senate	No division
1912, April	Senate	Test added by amendment 57 to 8
April 19	Senate	No division, but only 2 votes against
Dec. 18	House	178 to 52
1913, Jan. 17	House	149 to 70
Jan. 25	House	166 to 71
Jan.	House	No division
Jan.	Senate	No division
Feb. 18	Senate	72 to 18 (over President Taft's veto)
Feb. 19	House	213 to 114 (on veto)
1914, Feb. 5	House	252 to 126

There have thus been 7 record votes in the House, and the average of these votes was 192 to 73; and 5 record votes in the Senate, the average vote being 52 to 19.

The wide-spread desire of the people for this legislation is further shown by an analysis of the votes in February, 1913, on the question of

passing the bill over President Taft's veto, and the vote in February, 1914. In 1913, on the question of passing the bill over the veto, out of a possible 476 votes in both branches only 131 were cast against passing the bill over the veto, 57 "not voting" and 2 "present." There was not a single vote against passing the bill over the veto from eighteen States; namely, Alabama, Arizona, Idaho, Montana, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Tennessee, Vermont, Washington, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, Nevada, Oklahoma, Oregon, Virginia, West Virginia. Both Senators and every Representative from the ten States first named voted to pass the bill over the veto. Twenty-one States were divided in their vote, but did not cast a majority against passing over the veto. In only nine States—Illinois, Iowa, Louisiana, Minnesota, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota, and Wisconsin—were a majority of the delegations in favor of sustaining the veto, and in these cases it was only a bare majority; in Illinois, 13 out of 25; Iowa, 8 out of 13; Louisiana, 5 out of 9; Minnesota, 7 out of 11; New Jersey, 7 out of 12; New Mexico, 3 out of 4; New York, 19 out of 37; North Dakota, 2 out of 3; Wisconsin, 7 out of 13.

The vote by which the Burnett Bill passed the House in February last shows the same demand of the people for this legislation. The fight against the bill was the hardest ever made (the measure was fully debated for five days), so that this vote registers the deliberate feeling of the members as to the merits of the question and the wishes of their constituents. From twenty-one States every vote cast was for the bill; 13 gave a majority for the bill; 3 split even; 6 gave a majority against the bill; and only 4 voted solidly against the bill,—Connecticut, New Mexico, Rhode Island, Utah,—or 10 votes.

Of 256 Democrats voting, 166 voted for the bill; of 106 Republicans, 71 voted for the bill; 14 out of 15 Progressives, and one Independent voted for it. The majority in its favor was therefore made up of 76 Democrats, 36 Republicans, 13 Progressives, and one Independent (Kent).

The 21 States for the bill were: Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Kansas, Mississippi, Montana, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wyoming,—or 100 votes.

In view of much that is alleged as to the demand of the South and West for immigration, it is interesting to note that the vote in favor of the bill was: Southern States, 78 to 6; Southwestern States, 33 to 9; Northwestern States and the Coast, 38 to 14, the Pacific Coast alone being 17 to 1.

As to Mr. Cleveland's veto, he afterward stated to several persons that his veto was largely based on certain amendments tending to cause friction with Canada, and that, if he had known as much about the subject at the time as he did later, he would have signed the bill in spite of the objectionable amendments.

B. STATE LEGISLATURES.

The following States through their legislatures have asked for restrictive legislation, and their resolutions either ask specifically for the reading test or were passed when bills embodying the test were pending and in view of such pending legislation:—

Arkansas (House)	Pennsylvania
California	Tennessee
Massachusetts (House)	Vermont
Nevada	Virginia
Ohio	Washington
Oregon	Wyoming

C. NATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS.

Popular feeling on the test is also shown by the number of national associations, comprising many millions of citizens, which have repeatedly asked for it. These far outweigh in numbers the elements opposed, to wit: the steamships, employers of cheap labor, and various bodies of foreign-born citizens and racial and religious groups worked upon and used by those selling transportation.

A few of the more important bodies asking for this legislation are:—

- American Federation of Labor.
- Knights of Labor.
- Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union.
- Farmers' National Congress.
- United Mine Workers.
- National Board of Trade.
- National Grange.
- Order of United American Mechanics.
- Junior Order of United American Mechanics.
- Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.
- Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen.
- United Textile Workers.
- Cotton Growers' Association.
- American Genetics Association.
- Board of Associated Charities in forty of our largest cities.

Over 5,000 petitions in favor of the reading test were sent in to a recent Congress.

D. THE AVERAGE INTELLIGENT CITIZEN.

The feeling of the average intelligent citizen is shown by the fact that 85 per cent. of the graduates of the Harvard Medical School, and 77 per cent. of persons whose names appear in "Who's Who in America," recently answering inquiries as to their opinion, favored a reading test for immigrants. Among the latter were 33 college presidents, and a large majority of the teachers of economics, politics, and sociology in our large universities. Practically every one of these teachers in Harvard, Yale, Columbia, and the Universities of Chicago and Wisconsin were of this opinion.

E. EXPERTS.

It is not without significance that all the experts who have made a sufficient study of general immigration to write books on the subject in recent years, with a single exception, have become strongly convinced of the necessity of restriction, and have favored the reading test; namely, Mayo-Smith, Commons, Jenks, Hall, Warne, Fairchild, and Ross. The one author who reached a different conclusion—Dr. Hourwich—has been severely criticised by other economists as to his figures and methods of argument. Although only two of the Immigration Commission were strongly in favor of the test at the start, 8 out of 9 finally favored the test as the best single method of restriction.

II. The Reading Test is the Best Selective Test.

No test can be devised that will shut out every undesirable alien, and admit every desirable one; but the present law lets in a very large number who are below the average both of our country and their own. We would respectfully call your attention to the principal advantages of the test:—

A. IT IS GOOD POLITICALLY.

1. Ability to read is necessary for the intelligent use of the franchise. Newspapers and magazines are the sources of much political information. This matter is not covered by the federal naturalization law, because some States allow aliens to vote.

2. Ignorant voters are the bulwark of the machines.

3. Ability to read is necessary for the understanding of all American ideals and institutions, even down to health and police regulations. It is no answer to say that the children of aliens will be taught in our schools, because the children in many cases do not come, and the adults do not learn.

Even where there are children, the figures show that they are more illiterate than the natives for regions where the advantages are the same, and that they do not continue in school as long.

4. Experience shows that the illiterate races do not become naturalized or take an interest permanently in our political institutions as the literate races do.

B. IT IS GOOD SOCIALLY.

It is not claimed that ability to read is in itself a test of mental power or moral character. The test would nevertheless go far to exclude the less desirable elements of our present immigration.

1. It would diminish the burden of insanity, criminality, and pauperism. The figures show that it would exclude a considerable proportion of defectives and delinquents. Thus in 1900 it would have excluded 18 per cent. of foreign-born insane; 21 per cent. of foreign-born criminals; and 30 per cent. of foreign-born paupers. In the opinion of some of the most experienced public health surgeons, it would exclude a larger percentage of these classes than any legislation directly aimed against them.

2. It would bar out many not absolutely defective or delinquent, but likely to become so,—people who are below the average.

3. It would decrease racial isolation and the settling together of those of the same race and class.

4. It is certain to improve the quality of the aliens; but it is not certain to very largely diminish their numbers. If the steamships find they cannot bring illiterates, they will seek to bring those who can read; and the latter will be more likely to come if they are not obliged to compete with the former.

5. It is far more selective than any other test proposed, like the numerical limitation.

C. IT IS GOOD ECONOMICALLY.

1. Those who can read are more likely to go to favorable localities, and to know about them.

2. They are less likely to be the prey of the labor boss.

3. They are less likely to be cheated, overworked, and underpaid.

4. The illiterates are as a rule the unskilled. The Immigration Commission has reported that there is an excess of unskilled labor, and this is confirmed by the reports from all the large labor centres. The reading test will exclude the very class which should be excluded, and is therefore accurately selective as regards economic classes.

5. It is unfair to our own people to have them spend large sums on the education and training of their children for citizenship and business, and then throw them into competition with those who have not spent money on their education and are willing to live in such a low manner that they can underbid them for a job.

D. IT IS PRACTICALLY DESIRABLE.

1. It is a certain test. The alien can tell before he starts whether he can pass it. The steamship company can likewise tell before it accepts him for passage.

To the extent to which it is definite, it removes uncertainty from all cases of aliens affected by it, for instance, those who are in danger of being held "liable to become a public charge." It is therefore a humane provision.

2. It requires no new machinery for its application, either here or abroad. It was applied at New York for three months as an experiment, and the Commissioner reported there was no trouble about applying it.

3. By diminishing the number of doubtful cases it gives more time to the inspectors and boards of special inquiry to examine the remaining cases. The very ignorant cases take up a great deal of time.

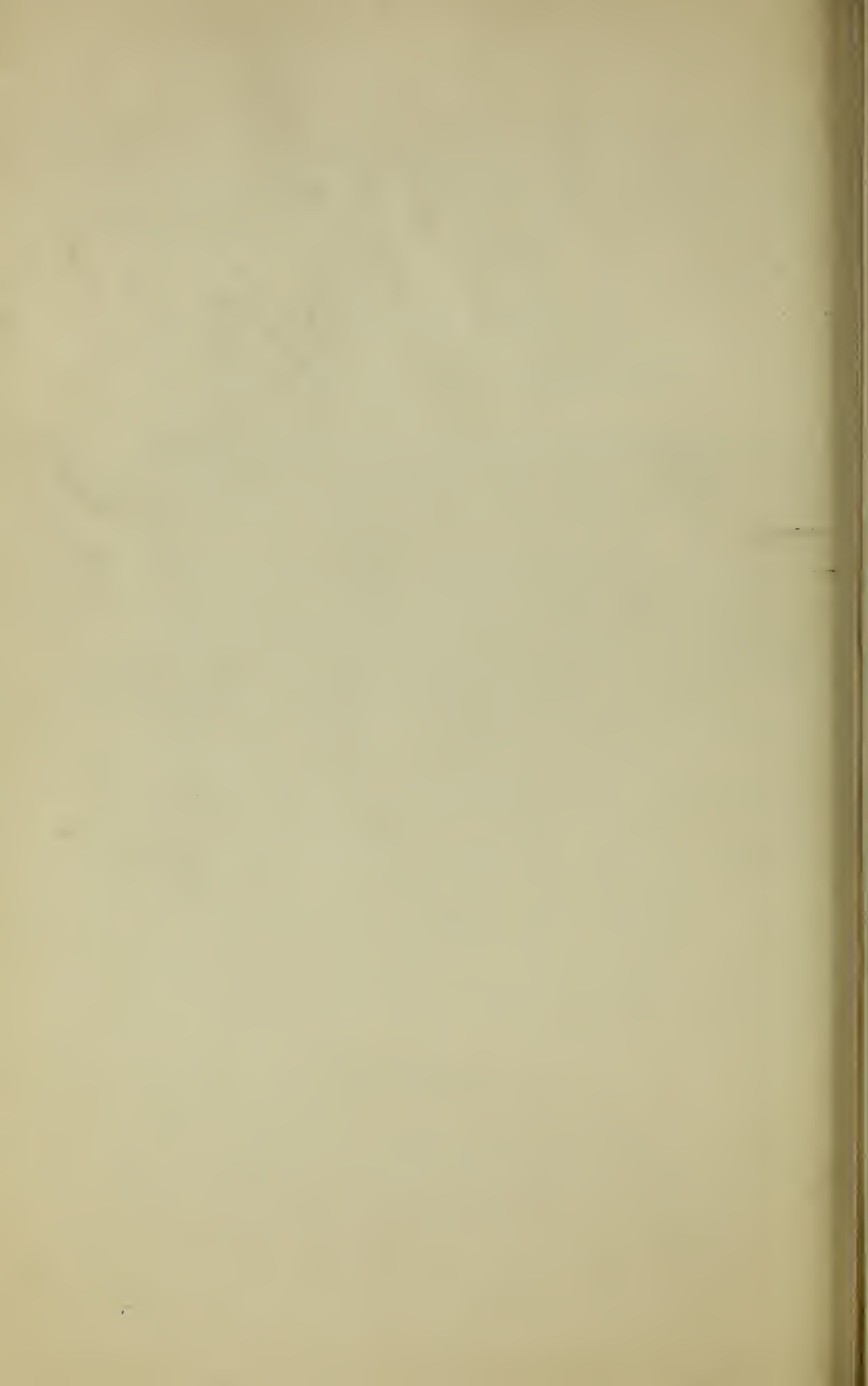
4. It does away with part of the temptation to a lax enforcement of the present law.

In conclusion, it is believed that no unjust hardship would be put on aliens by this bill. The reading test calls for only the most rudimentary education. Italy has started to improve its school system every time this bill has been pending. The Russian Jews can certainly learn Yiddish if they are willing to take the trouble, even if not always able to learn Russian. Much has been said of the refusal of the Russian government to allow the Poles to have schools; but the testimony before the House Committee last December showed that they were merely forbidden to have parochial schools, and were not forbidden to learn Russian. It is believed that this matter of deprivation of school opportunities is much exaggerated for the purpose of argument.

We urge the passage of this bill because

- (1) Restriction is needed.
- (2) The people demand it, and demand this method.
- (3) It is a selective measure which will improve the quality of aliens.
- (4) No other method has been suggested which is as good.





Immigration Figures for 1914

Comparison of the Fiscal Years ending June 30, 1913 and 1914

(From data furnished by the Commissioner-General of Immigration)

Arrivals:	1913	1914
Total	1,427,227	1,403,081
Immigrant aliens [See Note 1]	1,197,892	1,218,480
Non-immigrant aliens [See Note 1]	229,335	184,601
Debarred from entrance and returned within three years after landing	23,399	37,651
Per cent of total arrivals debarred	1.6	2.6
Departures:		
Total	611,924	633,805
Emigrant aliens [See Note 1]	308,190	303,338
Non-emigrant aliens [See Note 1]	303,734	330,467
Net addition to population [See Note 2]	815,303	769,276
Immigrant aliens:		
Excess over emigrant aliens	889,702	915,142
Teutonic and Keltic races, chiefly from Northern and Western Europe	337,800	321,390
Per cent	28.2	26.4
Slavic and Iberic races, chiefly from South- ern and Eastern Europe	802,668	834,124
Per cent	67.1	68.4
Asiatic	21,449	28,776
Per cent	1.8	2.4
Average money brought in dollars	34.14	34.92
Per cent of farm laborers, laborers, or ser- vants	57.7	54.1
Per cent destined for the four States of Ill., Mass., N.Y., and Pa.	60.3	59.8
Per cent destined for the States east of the Mississippi River and north of the Poto- mac and Ohio Rivers	85.2	81.8
Per cent destined for other (Southern and Western) States	14.2	17.5
Per cent destined for Hawaii, Porto Rico, Alaska, and Philippine Islands	0.6	0.6

Immigrant aliens over 14 years of age:	1913	1914
Number of illiterates [See Note 3]	275,314	263,226
Per cent of illiterates	26.2	24.8
Per cent bringing no money [See Note 4]	13.7	12.3
Per cent of "assisted" whose passage was paid for by others [See Note 4]	22.8	23.8
Per cent having no occupation [See Note 4]	14.4	13.3

Appeals and admissions on bond:

Total appeals to Secretary of Labor	7,002	8,657
Per cent admitted on bond	9.9	10.6
Per cent admitted without bond	30.9	22.4
Per cent debarred	59.3	67.1
Per cent admitted on bond without appeal,	68.0	64.2

NOTE 1.—DEFINITIONS. *Immigrant aliens*, those arriving whose permanent domicile has been outside the United States and who intend to reside permanently in the United States.

Emigrant aliens, those departing whose permanent residence has been in the United States who intend to reside permanently abroad.

Non-immigrant aliens, those residing abroad making a temporary trip to the United States.

Non-emigrant aliens, those residing in the United States making a temporary trip abroad.

The figures based on these definitions are not reliable as they depend solely upon the alien's statement of his intention.

NOTE 2.—This figure is ascertained by subtracting from the total of "immigrant aliens" and "non-immigrant aliens" the "emigrant aliens" and the "non-emigrant aliens."

NOTE 3.—It should be remembered that the figures of illiteracy are based upon the manifests, which in turn are made up from the statements of the immigrants. The recent agitation for an educational test for immigrants has undoubtedly made the latter more disposed to assert their ability to read and write.

NOTE 4.—These figures are obtained by assuming that the immigrant aliens under 14 years of age brought no money, had no occupation, and did not pay their own passage.

Largest Elements in Recent Immigration

	1911.	1912.	1913.	1914.
South Italian	159,638	135,830	231,613	251,612
Hebrew	91,223	80,595	101,330	138,051
Polish	71,446	85,163	174,365	122,657
German	66,471	65,343	80,865	79,871

Remarks

The total of alien arrivals was the third largest in the history of the country, being surpassed only in 1907 with 1,438,469 and in 1913 with 1,427,227. The total immigration since 1820 (all aliens to 1904 inclusive, and "immigrant aliens" since) is 32,027,424. It will be noted that the "immigrant aliens" numbered 20,588 more than last year. The Commissioner-General says (p. 3):—

"Immigration, judging from the results of the year, has apparently reached the million mark permanently, and unless some affirmative action is taken by the Federal Government to restrict it, or steps are taken by European and other nations to reduce the steady stream of persons leaving the various countries of the Old World, we need hardly expect that the number annually entering the United States will hereafter fall far below one million."

The Commissioner-General thinks that after the present war is over immigration will again increase to recent figures, and possibly exceed them.

It will be noted that those debarred and returned were almost two-thirds more than last year. This reflects credit upon the service, but is in part accounted for by the poor quality of immigrants applying for admission. There was also an increase of 8 per cent in the number of those debarred on appeal to the Secretary of Labor; but, owing to the increase in the number of appeals, the number of those admitted was practically the same.

The progressive decrease in the Teutonic and Keltic elements and the progressive increase in the Slavic and Iberic elements, noted in previous publications, continues. There is some decrease of illiteracy as compared with last year, but chiefly in immigrants from Northern and Western Europe and in non-European races. Recent investigations confirm previous findings to the effect that illiteracy is really greater than the returns show.

Concerning the immigration bill (H. R. 6060) recently vetoed by the President, and which failed by only five votes to pass over his veto in the House, the Commissioner-General says (p. 24):—

"The respective committees in charge of the Burnett Immigration Bill, pending in the Senate of the United States, incorporated therein many new provisions and administrative features suggested by the Department of Labor from the experience of this bureau in dealing with many phases of immigration which if enacted will materially aid in solving many of the vital problems and settling many questions which have impeded the department and bureau in administering and executing the laws. Favorable action thereon would place upon the statute books a system calculated, with reasonable appropriations for its enforcement, to insure just treatment to all comers, the maximum of efficiency in administration, and many benefits for the general welfare of the country."

Illiteracy

Per cent of illiterates in total immigration of the various races over
14 years of age.

NORTHERN AND WESTERN EUROPE (Chiefly Teutonic and Keltic):		1913	1914
Scotch		0.5	0.5
Scandinavian		0.3	0.6
English		0.9	0.7
Finnish		0.7	0.8
Welsh		0.6	0.9
Irish		1.0	1.1
Bohemian and Moravian		1.1	1.3
Dutch and Flemish		1.9	2.1
German		6.3	4.4
Italian (North)		6.7	6.2
French		7.9	7.6
Average of above		3.2	2.9

SOUTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE (Chiefly Slavic and Iberic):			
Magyar		9.9	8.8
Slovak		14.3	11.4
Spanish		18.3	18.7
Hebrew		21.5	19.9
Greek		23.4	20.3
Bulgarian, Servian, and Montenegrin		34.5	22.9
Croatian and Slovenian		23.2	23.3
Polish		32.9	31.3
Roumanian		35.2	33.2
Russian		35.7	34.8
Ruthenian		40.0	38.2
Italian (South)		48.6	47.4
Dalmatian, Bosnian, and Herzegovinian		47.4	47.9
Lithuanian		48.9	49.9
Portuguese		61.9	57.6
Average of above		35.1	32.8

OTHER RACES:

Cuban	1.4	1.5
Chinese	12.1	7.7
Japanese	30.8	16.8
African (black)	15.3	23.3
Armenian	26.2	29.2
Mexican	46.7	39.2
Syrian	52.5	50.0
Turkish	65.6	63.9
Average of above	33.4	30.4

The average illiteracy of non-immigrant aliens was 14.4 per cent in
1913 and 11.2 per cent in 1914.

Immigration Figures for 1915

Comparison of the Fiscal Years ending June 30, 1914 and 1915

(From data furnished by the Commissioner-General of Immigration)

Arrivals:	1914	1915
Total	1,403,081	434,244
Immigrant aliens [See Note 1]	1,218,480	326,700
Non-immigrant aliens [See Note 1]	184,601	107,544
Debarred from entrance and returned within three years after landing	37,651	26,675
Per cent of total arrivals debarred	2.6	6.1
Departures:		
Total	633,805	384,174
Emigrant aliens [See Note 1]	303,338	204,074
Non-emigrant aliens [See Note 1]	330,467	180,100
Net addition to population [See Note 2]	769,276	50,070
Immigrant aliens:		
Excess over emigrant aliens	915,142	122,626
Teutonic and Keltic races, chiefly from Northern and Western Europe	321,390	157,951
Per cent	26.4	48.4
Slavic and Iberic races, chiefly from Southern and Eastern Europe	834,124	130,043
Per cent	68.4	39.7
Asiatic	28,776	13,073
Per cent	2.4	4.0
Average money brought in dollars	34.92	59.89
Per cent of farm laborers, laborers, or servants	54.1	34.5
Per cent destined for the four States of Ill., Mass., N.Y., and Pa.	59.8	50.9
Per cent destined for the States east of the Mississippi River and north of the Potomac and Ohio Rivers	81.8	70.6
Per cent destined for other (Southern and Western) States	17.5	28.8
Per cent destined for Hawaii, Porto Rico, Alaska, and Philippine Islands	0.6	0.6

Immigrant aliens over 14 years of age:	1914	1915
Number of illiterates [<i>See Note 3</i>] . . .	263,226	35,449
Per cent of illiterates	24.8	12.9
Per cent bringing no money [<i>See Note 4</i>] . .	12.3	16.2
Per cent of "assisted" whose passage was paid for by others [<i>See Note 4</i>]	23.8	30.3
Per cent having no occupation [<i>See Note 4</i>] . .	13.3	23.4

Appeals and admissions on bond:

Total appeals to Secretary of Labor . . .	8,657	6,012
Per cent admitted on bond	10.6	12.7
Per cent admitted without bond	22.4	18.6
Per cent debarred	67.1	68.7
Per cent admitted on bond without appeal,	64.2	47.1

NOTE 1.—DEFINITIONS. *Immigrant aliens*, those arriving whose permanent domicile has been outside the United States and who intend to reside permanently in the United States.

Emigrant aliens, those departing whose permanent residence has been in the United States who intend to reside permanently abroad.

Non-immigrant aliens, those residing abroad making a temporary trip to the United States.

Non-emigrant aliens, those residing in the United States making a temporary trip abroad.

The figures based on these definitions are not reliable as they depend solely upon the alien's statement of his intention.

NOTE 2.—This figure is ascertained by subtracting from the total of "immigrant aliens" and "non-immigrant aliens" the "emigrant aliens" and the "non-emigrant aliens."

NOTE 3.—It should be remembered that the figures of illiteracy are based upon the manifests, which in turn are made up from the statements of the immigrants. The recent agitation for an educational test for immigrants has undoubtedly made the latter more disposed to assert their ability to read and write.

NOTE 4.—These figures are obtained by assuming that the immigrant aliens under 14 years of age brought no money, had no occupation, and did not pay their own passage.

Largest Elements in Recent Immigration

	1911.	1912.	1913.	1914.
South Italian	159,638	135,830	231,613	251,612
Hebrew	91,223	80,595	101,330	138,051
Polish	71,446	85,163	174,365	122,657
German	66,471	65,343	80,865	79,871

In 1915 the largest elements were: South Italian, 46,557; English, 38,662; Hebrew, 26,497; Scandinavian, 24,263.

Remarks

The European war reduced the number of the total arrivals in 1915 to less than one-third of that in 1914, and the net addition to population to one-fifteenth of that of the preceding year. The total immigration from Oct. 1, 1914, to June 30, 1915, was 32,354,124 (all aliens to 1904 inclusive, and "immigrant aliens" since).

Owing to the interruption of steamship traffic except from Great Britain, France, and Italy, the principal falling off in immigration was from Russia, Austria-Hungary, and the Balkan states. With the relative increase of the Teutonic and Keltic races occurred, as was to be expected, an increase in the amount of money brought, and in the proportion going to the South and West, as well as a large decrease in the illiteracy.

The smaller number of arrivals made possible a more thorough inspection, resulting in raising the percentage of the debarred and returned from 2.6 in 1914 to 6.1. This shows what could be accomplished in normal years if the service were given adequate facilities. The additional cost of such service would be but a small part of the cost of supporting persons improperly admitted. 1,328 aliens ordered deported had action in their cases suspended, on account of the difficulty of safely returning them during the war.

Opinions differ as to whether immigration will increase rapidly after the war, but all are agreed that the quality is likely to be very poor. This is, therefore, the time to enact new legislation; and the Commissioner-General (*Report*, p. 39) renews his recommendation of last year, that the administrative reforms embodied in the Burnett bill vetoed by President Wilson be passed.

The vetoed bill has been reintroduced into the House by Congressman Burnett (H. R. 558), and into the Senate by Senator Smith (S. 3195).

As the year 1915 was very abnormal in the composition of its racial elements, the illiteracy tables for 1913 and 1914 are reprinted on the following page as representing more truly the normal relative illiteracy of the various races.

Illiteracy

Per cent of illiterates in total immigration of the various races over 14 years of age.

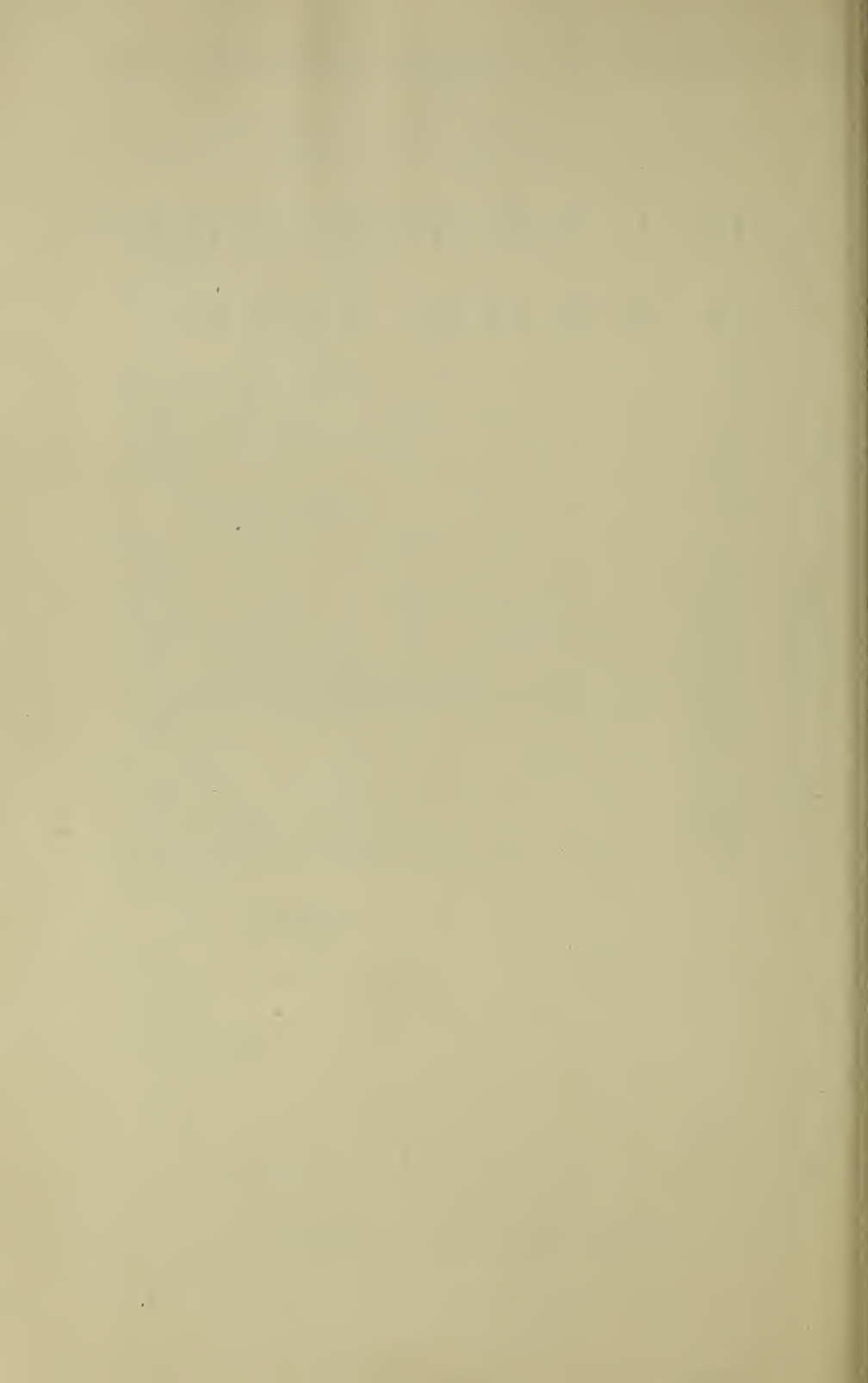
NORTHERN AND WESTERN EUROPE (Chiefly Teutonic and Keltic):		1913	1914
Scotch		0.5	0.5
Scandinavian		0.3	0.6
English		0.9	0.7
Finnish		0.7	0.8
Welsh		0.6	0.9
Irish		1.0	1.1
Bohemian and Moravian		1.1	1.3
Dutch and Flemish		1.9	2.1
German		6.3	4.4
Italian (North)		6.7	6.2
French		7.9	7.6
Average of above		3.2	2.9
SOUTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE (Chiefly Slavic and Iberic):			
Magyar		9.9	8.8
Slovak		14.3	11.4
Spanish		18.3	18.7
Hebrew		21.5	19.9
Greek		23.4	20.3
Bulgarian, Servian, and Montenegrin		34.5	22.9
Croatian and Slovenian		23.2	23.3
Polish		32.9	31.3
Roumanian		35.2	33.2
Russian		35.7	34.8
Ruthenian		40.0	38.2
Italian (South)		48.6	47.4
Dalmatian, Bosnian, and Herzegovinian		47.4	47.9
Lithuanian		48.9	49.9
Portuguese		61.9	57.6
Average of above		35.1	32.8
OTHER RACES:			
Cuban		1.4	1.5
Chinese		12.1	7.7
Japanese		30.8	16.8
African (black)		15.3	23.3
Armenian		26.2	29.2
Mexican		46.7	39.2
Syrian		52.5	50.0
Turkish		65.6	63.9
Average of above		33.4	30.4

The average illiteracy of non-immigrant aliens was 14.4 per cent in 1913 and 11.2 per cent in 1914.

THE CASE FOR THE
LITERACY TEST

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THE CASE FOR THE LITERACY TEST

WHEN President Wilson vetoed the Burnett Immigration Bill last January, he gave as his principal reason his conviction that the literacy test which it contained was not wanted by the American people, and his determination to await a more explicit expression of their wishes before giving his sanction to what seemed like so radical a departure from American tradition. This was a surprising attitude in view of the fact that in the preceding eighteen years there had been seven record votes on the question in the House, with an average of 192 votes in favor to 73 against, and five record votes in the Senate, with an average of 52 yeas and 19 nays, while the Congress then in session had passed the measure by a vote of 252 to 126 in the House, and 50 to 7 in the Senate. The President's demand that the question be settled by including the proposal in party platforms, and voting upon it, seems to imply that a party platform is a more reliable indication of the wishes of the people than the repeated votes of their representatives in Congress. Even on this basis, the President might have found support for his signature, since William McKinley was elected President in 1896 on a platform which specifically declared for a reading test. The failure of the measure to become law has been due solely to Presidential vetoes, those of President Cleveland and President Taft having set the precedent for President Wilson.

There is no doubt that there is, and long has been, a very insistent demand on the part of a large proportion of the American people — just how large, no one can say — for this particular addition to our system of immigration control. There is every indication that this demand is growing, and will continue to grow until it achieves its end. It is the purpose of this article to ex-

amine the arguments for and against the test in question, and to show the validity of the demand for its enactment into law.

In order to understand American immigration legislation, actual and proposed, and the literacy test in particular, it is helpful to distinguish three main principles, which might serve as guides to action. These are the principles of exclusion at one extreme, free immigration at the other extreme, and regulation as a mean.

The exclusionist view is that it would be best to deny admission to any and all immigrants without exception, and that we have a perfect right to do so. Perhaps the most eminent exponent of this view was Thomas Jefferson, who expressed the wish that there were an ocean of fire between this country and Europe, so that it might be impossible for any more immigrants to come here.

The free immigration theory is that it is desirable to admit any alien whatsoever, without reference to his antecedents, character, or purposes. This view was thus expressed in a magazine in the middle of the nineteenth century: "What, though the population which is annually cast upon American shores is all of the filthiest and most degraded kind! . . . Let us welcome the houseless and naked of every land. . . Let us invite the ill-fed and the starving of every grade. . . Let us urge the oppressed and downtrodden of every name to the blessings of American freedom."

Between these two extremes there lies the middle ground of regulation. Here the assumption is that immigration is desirable, or at least permissible, but that the best results demand that it shall be subjected to some form of control. As to the method of control, however, there are again two distinct principles, which also need to be carefully distinguished. These are selection and restriction. The general public frequently fails to discriminate between these two, and much confusion results.

The principle of selection assumes that the only dan-

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ger lies in the admission of aliens of poor quality — commonly known as “undesirables.” There is no menace, according to this view, in mere numbers, no matter how great. This point of view was concisely stated by President Roosevelt in one of his messages: “We cannot have too much immigration of the right kind, and we should have none at all of the wrong kind.”

The restrictionist, on the other hand, may or may not believe in selection. He generally does. But he differs from the selectionist in refusing to admit that there is no danger in numbers. He is ready to grant that a moderate immigration is innocuous, if not absolutely advantageous. But he maintains that the volume can swell too much, and the interests of the country suffer, however high the quality of the individuals. His distinctive objection to unregulated immigration is quantitative. The following quotation from Dr. Gustav LeBon is a moderate statement of this view: “A preponderating influence of foreigners is a sure solvent of the existence of States. It takes away from a people its most precious possession — its soul.”

Selective tests must of necessity have a slightly restrictive effect for the time being. But the ultimate effect may be to increase the numbers, by keeping the quality high, and thereby avoiding the discouragement which would arise if self-respecting aliens were forced to associate with, and compete with, and be classed with the dregs of foreign races.

Historically, the exclusionist principle has played no practical part, and there has been little demand for its extreme application. A dominating principle, for nearly the whole of the first century of our national life, was the principle of free immigration, as was natural in a sparsely settled and undeveloped country. Nevertheless, this policy was not maintained without much protest. Under a *laissez faire* administration, the character of some of the immigrants was so desperate as to arouse the con-

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sternation even of the easy-going Americans, and the years from 1830 to 1880 were marked by repeated attempts to secure some regulative measures which should raise the average of quality. Nothing of the sort, however, was adopted by the federal government. The individual states made ineffectual efforts to ameliorate the situation, mostly in the way of imposing a head tax or requiring a bond from those whose ability to support themselves was doubtful. But the motive of these measures was neither selection nor restriction, but indemnification against the support of indigent foreigners. The only important measures passed by the federal government during this period were designed to improve the means of immigration, not to control immigration itself.

It was not until 1882 that the federal government undertook definitely to regulate the matter.¹ The principle adopted was frankly that of selection. This was natural, as the agitation which had led up to it had rested almost entirely on the dangers and injuries from immigrants of an inferior type—particularly paupers, criminals, and diseased persons. Accordingly, this new legislation excluded certain classes. Also a small head tax was imposed, and that, of course, has incidentally a slightly restrictive influence.

The complicated body of immigration legislation which has grown up from this beginning has added more and more “undesirables” to the excluded classes, more and more complicated expedients have been introduced for debarring and deporting them, and the machinery of administration has been steadily improved. Yet one might search in vain through all the laws on the subject to find a single statute which was avowedly and directly restrictive. It was not until very recent years that any avowedly restrictive measure has even been proposed

¹ The law of 1875 excluding immigrant women imported for purposes of prostitution, and criminals convicted of non-political offenses was passed with the Chinese in mind, and, like the entire Chinese exclusion legislation, belongs in a special category.

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and supported strongly enough to gain public prominence. The single important instance of this sort of measure is furnished by the scheme, worked out independently by Senator Dillingham and Professor Sydney L. Gulick of Japan, to limit the immigration of people of any race on a percentage basis, according to the number of that race already in this country. Senator Dillingham would base his percentage simply on those resident, Professor Gulick on the number naturalized. But, in either case, the proposal is for a straightforward and positive restriction.

The literacy test is evidently regulative and selective. It distinguishes a new type of undesirable. It adds an educational test to the various physical, mental, and moral tests which already exist. Its restrictive effects would be very considerable. Just how much, nobody has been able to tell positively. The percentage of illiteracy of all immigrants fourteen years of age or over for the years 1899 to 1909 averaged 26.7. But since any law, to have a chance of passing, must allow certain exemptions, the total number excluded would not equal the total number of illiterates applying. On the other hand, the figures of illiteracy furnished by the Immigration Bureau are based merely on the statements of the immigrants themselves, and since the immigrant often believes that he is more likely to be admitted if he is literate than if not, there may be considerable overstatement of literacy. It seems likely that the test would exclude in the neighborhood of twenty-five per cent.

The semblance of introducing a new principle into our immigration legislation gives the literacy test a special value in the eyes of its friends, and offers a point of attack to its enemies. Whether its restrictive features constitute an argument for or against it, evidently depends on one's point of view. To the pure selectionist, they tend to condemn it. This was evidently the attitude of President Wilson when he wrote in his veto message: "The object of such provisions is restriction, not selection."

If one has restrictionist leanings, on the other hand, this aspect simply adds to the desirability of the test as a selective measure. It is probably true that a considerable portion of the agitation for the test comes from those who are inspired partly by a desire to secure restriction.

This is not the place to discuss the arguments for and against restriction. Volumes have been written on the subject, and public opinion is not yet unanimous. The matter can be clearly understood only after an exhaustive examination into the various economic, political, and social bearings of the case, such as the average busy citizen cannot possibly undertake. It is true that almost all of those who have taken up the question in a thorough and scientific manner have become convinced of the need of restriction. The most remarkable example of this is furnished by the Immigration Commission. As Professor Jenks, a member of the Commission, said in a public lecture: "The Commission in its Report recommended with absolute unanimity the adoption of a policy of restriction, although one member differed from his colleagues as regards the method of restriction that it was most expedient to employ. It is well known that at the beginning of their investigation, several members of the Commission were strongly inclined not to restrict immigration further, but the results of the investigation had completely changed their views, so that all nine members — three Senators, three members of the House of Representatives, and the three civilians — appointed by the President, Republicans and Democrats alike, agreed in their recommendation. Moreover, so far as can be ascertained, all of the field agents of the Commission, perhaps a hundred, even before the final statistical results of the investigation had been fully calculated and the results made manifest — simply through their personal observations — had become convinced that a restrictive policy was needed."

In spite of this unanimity of opinion on the part of

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scientific students, the restrictionist arguments have not had much weight in shaping legislation. Law-making bodies are conservative, legislation tends to move in well-worn channels, and the mass of voters are strongly influenced by tradition. It is much more difficult to get passed a law which involves some new principle than one which is merely an extension of an old principle, or at least looks like an old law. The principle of selection is so thoroughly established in our immigration statutes, and the people have become so thoroughly habituated to it, that there is a much better chance of securing restriction, if that is desired, through a measure which can be supported on selective grounds, than by one which is solely restrictive. The likelihood of the passage of a literacy test may very possibly be enhanced by the extension of the recognition of the need for restriction. But the effective arguments for it must bear largely on its selective character.

What, then, are these arguments?

The positive arguments for a literacy test as a selective measure dwell on the proposition that an immigrant who can read furnishes better material, all things considered, for the building up of the American people, than one who cannot.

This point is customarily argued on the grounds of individual fitness, and there is, indeed, much to recommend the literacy test from this point of view. Much effort has been expended, particularly by Mr. Prescott F. Hall, to show that the immigrant who lacks such a rudimentary education is both hampered in the struggle for success, and likely to injure rather than aid the country.

Economically, it is pointed out that illiterate immigrants furnish an unintelligent, or at least mentally untrained, labor supply. Their intellectual processes are primitive, they cannot read printed instructions, they are not able to understand our complicated modern industry. Particularly, it is shown that they are especially

liable to injury in factories, mines and foundries, because of inability to read the warning placards posted about. They do not possess that mental alertness and adaptiveness which, in the minds of many, has enabled the old type of American laborer to contribute so much to the economic up-building of his country.

To these arguments the opponents of the literacy test reply that mental training is a very minor requirement in the work for which the immigrant is desired. We need immigrants to furnish the unskilled labor supply, to do the menial, dirty, laborious work, which, it is alleged, the native American will no longer undertake. In these occupations education is not needed; even natural intelligence may be of a very low order. What is called for is brawn, not brains. Too much thinking capacity and habit is a drawback, not an advantage. It is pointed out that many of those aliens who have the hardest time in this country are the ones who have had some education in the old country — the clerks, cheap musicians, bookkeepers, etc., who are either unable or unwilling to do low-grade manual labor, and who find their European education of no advantage in competition with American trained workers.

It is seldom that this point is so frankly stated as it was in the following letter to the *New York Times*, printed January 23, 1915: "I read with much interest your editorial on 'Immigrant Bone and Brawn,' and while I do not claim to be an authority on this matter, yet I have a fairly good knowledge of the labor situation, being an employer of not an indifferent number of common laborers every year.

"Now, without any exception, I have found that illiterate laborers make far better diggers than immigrants of higher standard, because, first, in their native land they have done nothing else, therefore are well accustomed to hard work, and, second, the laborer's mind, not being trained in other channels, lacks the nerve to

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branch off in other fields, and remains what it is trained to be, a common laborer, a common digger, if you wish, but the most vital part and the most perfect of the whole machine which makes a country what it should be.

"The heavens of the United States are bright enough without the need of foreign stars, but the land of this glorious Republic does need the bone and brawn of the foreigner, whether or not he can read or write."

It may be granted that, from the strictly economic point of view, the opponents of the literacy test can present the weightier arguments. If the goal of our public policy is to secure the greatest and most rapid production of wealth, regardless of the conditions which attend it, and of the steadiness and continuousness of the accumulation, then the cheaper, the more docile, and the more abundant the supply of common labor is, the more rapidly will the immediate process go on. A group of Slavic workers, who will accept any standard of living, who will be mute, if not content, in the face of intolerable working conditions, who will submit to the exhaustion of their native forces in the rounds of industry — who, in fine, do not let their minds "branch off in other fields" — and who, when their period of usefulness is over will go uncomplainingly back home to Europe with broken bodies and dulled minds, leaving their places to be filled by others like them — such a group of laborers will no doubt leave a greater mass of accumulated capital in the hands of the master producers than those whose minds are trained to think. To this argument there is no effective answer.

But the adherents of the literacy test maintain that there are other considerations — social, in the wide sense and reaching far ahead — which outweigh the immediate economic interests. These have to do with the building up of the American people and their enduring prosperity, rather than their immediate wealth.

Professor Commons has said, "The true foundations

of democracy are in the character of the people themselves, that is, of the individuals who constitute the democracy. These are: first, intelligence — the power to weigh evidence and draw sound conclusions, based on adequate information; second, manliness, that which the Romans called virility, and which at bottom is dignified self-respect, self-control, and that self-assertion and jealousy of encroachment which marks those who, knowing their rights, dare maintain them; third, and equally important, the capacity for coöperation, that willingness and ability to organize, to trust their leaders, to work together for a common interest and toward a common destiny, a capacity which we variously designate as patriotism, public spirit, or self-government.”

It is believed by those who advocate the literacy test, that the man who can read is more likely to possess these qualities in some measure than one who cannot, and is also better equipped to acquire them to a fuller extent.

From the political point of view the illiterate immigrant is handicapped in his efforts to become worthy of his adopted country. He is unable to keep posted on national affairs by even the journals published in his own language. He is forced to have constant recourse to the interpreter, the padrone, and the “banker.” He becomes the easy prey of the ward boss, and furnishes plastic material for naturalization and election frauds. He readily yields to the machinations of unscrupulous labor leaders and anarchistic agitators. He is compelled to rely on others for all his knowledge of world events.

The effort has been made to prove that the illiterate aliens contribute more than their due proportion to the volume of pauperism and crime. Accuracy and convincingness in investigations of this sort are rendered difficult, if not impossible, by the careless record-keeping of most of our penal and relief agencies. Yet there is much general evidence in favor of this view, of which a typical example is the statement made by Mr. Frederick A.

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Pope, prosecuting attorney of Somerset County, New Jersey, to the effect that out of a group of 54 crimes, committed by foreigners, that involved violence, 46 were committed by illiterates. Of course only an overwhelming mass of testimony of this sort would constitute a positive demonstration.

To these arguments the opponents of the literacy test reply that this test will not keep out criminals and other individuals with anti-social motives. While the percentage of illiterate criminals is high among those guilty of minor crimes, yet the most dangerous criminals are those with a high grade of intelligence and education, which this test would not touch. To this the other side responds, that the literacy test is not supported as a cure-all. We already have laws providing for the exclusion of all criminals and paupers who can be detected; and as for the others, the literacy test would keep out *some* of them, and that would be so much clear gain.

Thus on purely individualistic grounds there is much to be said in favor of the literate immigrant as material for American citizenship. But the selective advantages of the literacy test become much clearer if the matter is considered, not from the point of view of individuals, but of groups. The argument briefly is this.

The final aim of our immigration policy, and the *sine qua non* of a good immigration situation, is assimilation. If this is not accomplished with speed, certainty, and completeness, the solidarity and progress, if not the very life, of the nation are threatened. Even the broadest "free immigrationist" will hardly deny this. The differences of opinion of candid students come from disagreement as to whether assimilation is actually accomplished, rather than from uncertainty as to the need of it. One of the chief reasons why restriction is favored by so many is that excessive numbers are a bar to assimilation.

Now evidently the groups of immigrants which are most

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easily assimilated, and which therefore can most readily be received into this country are those whose habits of thought, attitude toward life, conception of their relation to government, "ideas and ideals," to use Professor Ellwood's expressive phrase, or "mores" in Professor Sumner's still more significant term, are most similar to those of the United States. Assimilation is an intellectual process, accomplished with the greatest difficulty in the lifetime of any adult immigrant, and quite impossible in the case of an immigrant whose early environment and social traditions have been widely diverse from our own. The United States may be characterized as an industrial democracy, and the groups of immigrants who can be most readily assimilated into our life are those who come from countries whose economy is of the modern industrial type, and whose government is fundamentally democratic, by whatever name it may be called. Now nations of this sort have long ago established and maintained efficient compulsory education systems, and their people have a very small percentage of illiteracy. The monarchical, semi-feudalistic, economically backward nations, on the other hand, and those which have only recently emerged from that state, have public education systems inadequate either in plan or administration, and their people show a high percentage of illiteracy. Thus, considered groupwise, illiteracy appears less as a quality than as a symptom or indication of other qualities, and these some of the most deep-seated and tenacious from the point of view of group character. Considered in this way the literacy test reveals itself as a selective measure of the very highest importance.

There are many other advantages, incidental or of lesser importance, connected with the literacy test. First, from the point of view of administration, it meets all desirable requirements. It is positive, rapid, and cannot be evaded. It is foreknowable — that is, the would-be

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immigrant can determine for himself, before he leaves his native village, whether he can meet this test. It is impartial, and leaves as little as possible to the judgment of the inspector.

Second, it would exercise a highly stimulative influence on the public education in European countries. When, in the administration of President Taft, it appeared likely that a literacy test would be passed, schools sprang up on many a hillside in southern Italy where none had been before. When President Taft vetoed the bill the schools were deserted, and were closed.

Third, the test is a barrier which can be overcome by any intelligent and ambitious person. Any European who really wants to come to the United States need only take the pains to secure the most rudimentary education. This may be difficult for some, conceivably impossible for a few, but it could not involve any great general hardship. If the demand for simple educational facilities were strong enough, it would be supplied.

This suggests a further consideration, which is really too vital to be included among incidental things. This is that the literacy test would put a certain premium on American residence. The very fact that it imposed a barrier which could be overcome by effort would have a most beneficial effect upon those who did overcome it. It is almost a truism that anything which is cheaply acquired is lightly valued. Participation in the "glories of America" is now cheaply acquired. In early days there were natural obstacles of one sort and another, which automatically selected for emigration the hardy, the ambitious, and the courageous. Very few obstacles of that sort now exist. All the great channels of emigration are now carefully smoothed and oiled, and to emigrate is almost as easy as to stagnate. A test which could be overcome, but only by some personal effort, would be a highly desirable thing. To the extent to which it actually was overcome, it would of course neutralize the

restrictive effects of the literacy test, leaving only its selective features. Experience alone could prove how far this would go.

Turning now to the positive arguments against the literacy test, they are found to be almost all highly abstract, not to say metaphysical. They have to do with "natural rights" and "liberties," with American traditions and duties, with the inherent obligation of the favored to share their blessings with the less fortunate. They all boil down to three simple propositions: The literacy test invades "natural rights"; it is narrow and illiberal; it is un-American.

The proposition that it violates "natural rights" and "liberties" is manifestly not an argument, but an assertion, capable neither of proof nor refutation. The whole question of natural rights lies outside the field of logic, and is not a matter for argument. If one sees fit, as one writer on the subject has done, to include among the great natural rights of man "the right to choose a home," no amount of reasoning will dislodge him from that position. The best that can be done is to point to another great "right" which may be absolutely opposed to this, viz.: the right of every nation to protect its interests as against the interests of any individual.

The charge that the literacy test is narrow and illiberal rests on the assumption that those who urge it are animated by selfish or exclusive motives, that they desire to monopolize the advantages which they are fortunate enough to possess, rather than to share them with others. This charge may be true of some. But there are others, who advocate the test not because of narrowness of vision, but because they take a view of humanity which extends far beyond the confines of nation, group, or race.

There is no question that the United States as a nation is highly favored by nature. All the conjunctures of climate, soil, and natural resources combine with the high

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character of the original population to afford every advantage in the struggle for existence to those who are fortunate enough to call America their home. But it does not follow that a broad humanitarian policy demands the indiscriminate sharing of these advantages with anyone who wishes to come. These very advantages have set apart the United States to be the leader of the world in its struggle for the achievement of the higher democracy. Here, if anywhere, the stage is most favorably set for the great drama of the destiny of the common people. If democracy fails in America, where shall we look for it to succeed? The broad-minded adherent of the literacy test holds that the immigration movement, as it has manifested itself in recent years, constitutes a menace to democracy in the United States, and that our highest duty to humanity will not permit us to tolerate anything which threatens to check or hamper the progress of the common people in this country. The fact that measures like the literacy test run counter to the interests of some individuals of our own generation does not alter the case in his mind. It is simply a matter of conservation. Every conservation policy is carried out by restriction, and works hardship to individuals. The policy of forest preservation is an example. Yet we do not call the scientific forester narrow. Laws for the protection of woman and child laborers involve restriction, and injure the interests of individuals. But we do not accuse the social legislator of illiberality. Neither ought this reproach to be applied to the advocate of the literacy test, or even of more distinctly restrictive measures, who believes that such steps are necessary for the preservation of the high ideals of the United States, or of the standard of living of its common citizens.

In fact, if self-seeking is a mark of narrowness and illiberality, these opprobrious epithets could be applied to perhaps as great a proportion of the opponents of the literacy test, as of its supporters. For anyone who knows

the sources of the active opposition to this measure is all too well aware how much of it emanates from those who fancy they see in it a menace to their own private interests, economic and other.

The assertion that the literacy test is un-American is one which has been urged against many measures of social progress, and which can be employed against any proposition which involves departing from traditional methods or policies — in other words, which recognizes that the world moves and conditions change. When policemen were first introduced into the cities of the United States, the innovation was bitterly opposed on the ground that it was un-American, and interfered with the natural rights of the individual. The “penalty clause” by which the coöperative farmers’ elevators of the Middle West maintain themselves has been attacked as un-American by those whom it affects unfavorably. The anti-immigration agitation of the forties and fifties which called forth such rhetorical outbursts of protest as that quoted in an earlier paragraph, was due to the desire to exclude paupers, criminals, and diseased persons — and this desire was dubbed un-American.

It would seem hardly necessary to consider arguments of this type, were they not propounded with so much frequency and earnestness, and accepted with so much sobriety. Especially, it seems extraordinary that a measure which asks that the foreigner should have the same training for citizenship or residence that we require of our own children should be called un-American. When we spend over half a billion dollars annually on our public schools, and then compel children born in this country to take advantage of them, is it illogical — not to say un-American — to say to the adult foreigner that he should have so much of an education as is indicated by the ability to read?

But it is asserted that an educational test would be un-American because it would exclude aliens on the basis

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of opportunity, not of character. Illiteracy, it is maintained, not is a test of ability but of early opportunity. But a test based on opportunity is not un-American. For our immigration law already contains a number of tests which rest, in part at least, on opportunity. Such are the tests excluding paupers, those likely to become public charges, persons with contagious diseases, etc. In fact, when the individual immigrant appears before the inspector little can be gained by trying to separate those of his characteristics which are due to native ability from those which are traceable to environment. The man must be judged as he is, on the grounds of his fitness.

In pursuance of the "un-American" argument, however, it is further pointed out that illiteracy cannot reasonably be considered a test of fitness for American life, because this nation was founded by illiterates, and that it has nevertheless done pretty well. The trouble with this argument, is that it is not true, and that if it were it proves too much. It might be said with equal cogency that this nation was founded by men who made their living by slave labor in the south, and the slave-and-rum trade in the north, and that therefore these good old institutions should have been preserved. All such arguments ignore the fact that the world has progressed during the past three centuries, and that illiteracy stands for very different things now from what it did in the days of the Pilgrim Fathers, or of the Revolutionary heroes.

Another argument which proves too much is that produced so triumphantly, and with so great effect, in some such words as these: "This measure would keep out a great many people who would be very useful citizens. If it had been in force in earlier years it would have kept out the mother of Abraham Lincoln, who signed her name with a cross." Certainly the literacy test would keep out some who would be useful. So do many, if not most, of the tests now in force. The futility of such arguments may be illustrated by another *reductio ad absurdum*.

“Booker T. Washington was one of the most useful citizens of the United States. His ancestors on one side were brought over as negro slaves. Therefore it was a mistake to abolish the slave trade.”

Such are the arguments of the opponents of the literacy test. Aside from these, their efforts are devoted to countering the claims of the opposite side, which, as has been shown, can be done successfully only with respect to the strictly and temporarily economic aspects — the building up of quick fortunes by questionable and probably dangerous means. There are those who do not regard this as an argument against the literacy test, but for it.

The matter can be rightly understood only by taking the broadest possible view of the relations, not of this generation alone, but of the generations to come. The natural destiny of the United States is to be the leader of the nations into the fullest development of the common people. Our duty is to set standards, not to distribute the natural advantages we possess. We cannot render our highest service to mankind by hastily and inconsiderately yielding to the demands of a specious humanitarianism, and dissipating to-day what should be the heritage of future generations.

THE Immigration Restriction League is a non-partisan and non-sectarian organization, with members from all parts of the United States. Its object is to secure a more careful selection of the immigrants coming to this country, but not the exclusion of any whose character and standards fit them to become citizens.

Since its foundation, in 1894, this League has been largely instrumental in securing many amendments now embodied in the immigration law, and improvements in the methods of inspection and of keeping statistics as to aliens.

For membership (\$1 per year, or one payment of \$10 for life membership) and publications, address the Secretary, 11 Pemberton Sq., Boston, Mass.

The Unpopular Review

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This REVIEW holds that the principal hope for humanity is in the progress in knowledge, intelligence and character of the less capable portion of mankind; that only through such progress can real advance be made in their fortunes; and that at present the main obstacle to such progress is in the fallacies and false hopes preached by demagogues to attract the crowd. The chief recent schemes of our demagogues,—the make-everybody-rich juggles with the currency, and the movement to consign to the ignorant masses the functions of the learned judiciary—are exploded, but other demagogues and other schemes will arise. The intelligence and conscience of the country need rallying points to oppose them. It is hoped to make this REVIEW one among such rallying points.

Struck by the war before the appearance of its third number, with the consequent limiting of new subscriptions, and call of attention from its main purposes, THE UNPOPULAR REVIEW has nevertheless been steadily growing. While making no assertions itself, it is constantly receiving assertions that it is the best American periodical. It does not doubt, however, that other periodicals receive the same assurances. Yet it is not without hope that its share of them indicates its having in its short career reached a position, at least, among the best.

There are those who have the temerity to say that this age is scattering its brains over daily papers and other rapid-fire periodicals until it has very little concentrated brain power left. If they speak truth, the revival of the Quarterly is greatly needed.

From Lord Bryce: "The whole REVIEW is, so to speak, almost too good for a serial. There is matter in it for the making of books of permanent value. . . . What strikes me most in it all through is that it is fresh, not hackneyed or conventional, and that it is full of thinking, written not because something has to be said, but because the writers have something to say."

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SO EFFECTIVELY DELAY THE PROCESS.

——— Street

Philadelphia, Pa.

Dec. 9, 1915.

EDITOR UNPOPULAR REVIEW,

Sir:

Please find check enclosed for renewal of my subscription. I wish also to tell you how I enjoy reading the review. My work as an alienist compels me to live a large part of the time in an atmosphere of moral filth and mental perversity but I am sometimes inclined to believe that my patients are saner and better than the world at large. At all events it does me much good and heartens me to read the sane, clear, wholesome matter of your journal. I need say nothing in its praise as to mere literary merit — that goes without saying. Your journal is a power for sanity in a mad, hysteric, and neurotic world, a country ruled by its emotions and worshipping at the shrine of rhetoric.

Yours sincerely

Contents January-March, 1916

THE SINGING MAN WITH THE HOE	YOUR BLOOD AND MINE
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Immigration Figures for 1916

Comparison of the Fiscal Years ending June 30, 1915 and 1916

(From data furnished by the Commissioner-General of Immigration)

Arrivals:	1915	1916
Total	434,244	366,748
Immigrant aliens [See Note 1]	326,700	298,826
Non-immigrant aliens [See Note 1]	107,544	129,765
Debarred from entrance and returned within three years after landing	26,675	21,648
Per cent of total arrivals debarred	6.1	5.9
Departures:		
Total	384,174	240,807
Emigrant aliens [See Note 1]	204,074	129,765
Non-emigrant aliens [See Note 1]	180,100	111,042
Net addition to population [See Note 2]	50,070	125,941
Immigrant aliens:		
Excess over emigrant aliens	122,626	169,061
Teutonic and Keltic races, chiefly from Northern and Western Europe	157,951	139,186
Per cent	48.4	46.6
Slavic and Iberic races, chiefly from Southern and Eastern Europe	130,043	115,162
Per cent	39.7	38.5
Asiatic	13,073	12,076
Per cent	4.0	4.4
Average money brought in dollars	59.89	64.84
Per cent of farm laborers, laborers, or servants	34.5	37.3
Per cent destined for the four States of Ill., Mass., N.Y., and Pa.	50.9	46.9
Per cent destined for the sixteen States east of the Mississippi River and north of the Potomac and Ohio Rivers	70.6	70.2
Per cent destined for other (Southern and Western) States	28.8	28.5
Per cent destined for Hawaii, Porto Rico, Alaska, and Philippine Islands	0.6	1.3



Immigrant aliens over 14 years of age:	1915	1916
Number of illiterates [See Note 3]	35,449	40,445
Per cent of illiterates	12.9	12.1
Per cent bring no money [See Note 4]	16.2	15.9
Per cent of "assisted" whose passage was paid for by others [See Note 4]	30.3	20.8
Per cent having no occupation [See Note 4],	23.4	22.9

Appeals and admissions on bond:

Total appeals to Secretary of Labor	6,012	7,036
Per cent admitted on bond	12.7	13.2
Per cent admitted without bond	18.6	19.3
Per cent debarred	68.7	67.5

Aliens certified as physically or mentally defective:

Total certified	14,178
Admitted	9,792
Per cent	69.1

NOTE 1.—DEFINITIONS. *Immigrant aliens*, those arriving whose permanent domicile has been outside the United States and who intend to reside permanently in the United States.

Emigrant aliens, those departing whose permanent residence has been in the United States who intend to reside permanently abroad.

Non-immigrant aliens, those residing abroad making a temporary trip to the United States.

Non-emigrant aliens, those residing in the United States making a temporary trip abroad.

The figures based on these definitions are not reliable as they depend solely upon the alien's statement of his intention.

NOTE 2.—This figure is ascertained by subtracting from the total of "immigrant aliens" and "non-immigrant aliens" the "emigrant aliens" and the "non-emigrant aliens."

NOTE 3.—It should be remembered that the figures of illiteracy are based upon the manifests, which in turn are made up from the statements of the immigrants. The recent agitation for an educational test for immigrants has undoubtedly made the latter more disposed to assert their ability to read and write.

NOTE 4.—These figures are obtained by assuming that the immigrant aliens under 14 years of age brought no money, had no occupation, and did not pay their own passage.

Largest Elements in Recent Immigration.

	1915	1916
English	61,329	50,950
South Italian	53,719	36,470
Mexican	18,462	25,161
Scandinavian	35,442	24,131
Hebrew	28,155	23,333

REMARKS

The total immigration in 1916 was somewhat less than in 1915; but the net addition to population was more than twice as large. The total immigration from Oct. 1, 1819, to June 30, 1916, was 32,652,950 (all aliens to 1904 inclusive, and "immigrant aliens" since).

The effect of the war was continued in the relative proportion of Teutonic and Keltic as compared with Slavic and Iberic immigrants; in a diminishing proportion of illiterates, of those with no money, of assisted aliens, and of those with no occupation; and in the larger average amount of money brought.

The Burnett immigration bill (H. R. 10384) after having been vetoed twice by President Wilson, was passed over his veto and became law on Feb. 5, 1917. It goes into effect May 1, 1917, except the reading test, which takes effect May 5, 1917. The final vote in the Senate to pass over the veto was the 32d vote in one house or the other in favor of the reading test since May 20, 1896. Besides the reading test, this act contains numerous provisions improving medical inspection, further fining steamships for bringing improper persons, and extending the period within which certain classes of objectionable aliens may be deported from three years to five years.

The medical provisions of this law will have a permanent effect in shutting out some classes of undesirables; and, if vigorously enforced, will accomplish much good. The reading test, on the other hand, will after a time lose its effect as a restrictive measure; because, first, the steamship companies will seek aliens who can read, and, second, various foreign countries are already establishing schools for intending emigrants. This last-mentioned result of the law will be of great benefit to the relatively backward countries of Europe.

Inasmuch as the reading test, though always improving the quality of immigration, will gradually lose its power as a restrictive agency, the Immigration Restriction League is preparing a bill designed to accomplish some permanent restriction. This bill will probably take the form of a limitation of immigration in any year from any country to a certain percentage of natives of such country naturalized here. It will probably include a sliding scale between certain limits, the exact percentages to be determined each year by the Department of Labor with reference to labor conditions in this country and the preservation of the American standards of living and wages. Such a bill will leave Chinese and Japanese immigration to be governed by the present laws and agreements.

In view of the passage of the reading-test provision and the fact that the immigration of this year, as of last, was very abnormal in the composition of its racial elements, the illiteracy tables for the various races are omitted from this publication.

For other publications, address the Immigration Restriction League, 11 Pemberton Sq., Boston, Mass. The last annual report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, and a pamphlet containing the latest laws and regulations, can be obtained by addressing the Immigration Bureau, Washington, D.C.

For general information on immigration, see Prescott F. Hall, *Immigration and its Effects upon the United States* (New York, Holt, 2d Ed., 1908). Henry P. Fairchild, *Immigration* (New York, Macmillan, 1913). Edward A. Ross, *The Old World in the New* (New York, Century Co., 1914). F. J. Warne, *The Tide of Immigration* (New York, Appleton, 1916).

Immigration Figures for 1917.

Comparison of the Fiscal Years ending June 30, 1916 and 1917

(From data furnished by the Commissioner-General of Immigration)

Arrivals:	1916	1917
Total	366,748	362,887
Immigrant aliens [See Note 1]	298,826	295,403
Non-immigrant aliens [See Note 1]	129,765	67,474
Debarred from entrance and returned within three years after landing	21,648	17,635
Per cent of total arrivals debarred	5.9	4.9
Departures:		
Total	240,807	146,379
Emigrant aliens [See Note 1]	129,765	66,277
Non-emigrant aliens [See Note 1]	111,042	80,102
Net addition to population [See Note 2]	125,941	216,498
Immigrant aliens:		
Excess over emigrant aliens	169,061	229,126
Teutonic and Keltic races, chiefly from Northern and Western Europe	139,186	132,157
Per cent	46.6	44.7
Slavic and Iberic races, chiefly from Southern and Eastern Europe	115,162	113,737
Per cent	38.5	38.5
Asiatic	12,076	12,156
Per cent	4.4	4.3
Average money brought in dollars	64.84	71.53
Per cent of farm laborers, laborers, or servants	37.3	35.6
Per cent destined for the four States of Ill., Mass., N.Y., and Pa.	46.9	47.2
Per cent destined for the sixteen States east of the Mississippi River and north of the Potomac and Ohio Rivers	70.2	72.4
Per cent destined for other (Southern and Western) States	28.5	26.0
Per cent destined for Hawaii, Porto Rico, Alaska, and Philippine Islands	1.3	1.6
Immigrant aliens over 14 years of age:		
Number of illiterates [See Note 3]	40,445	35,510
Per cent of illiterates	12.1	14.3
Per cent bring no money [See Note 4]	15.9	15.9

	1916	1917
Per cent of "assisted" whose passage was paid for by others [See Note 4].	20.8	25.4
Per cent having no occupation [See Note 4], ...	22.9	22.9
Appeals and admissions on bond:		
Total appeals to Secretary of Labor	7,036	5,262
Per cent admitted on bond	13.2	16.8
Per cent admitted without bond	19.3	27.7
Per cent debarred	67.5	54.0
Aliens certified as physically or mentally defective:		
Total certified	14,178	15,551
Admitted	9,792	11,106
Per cent	69.1	71.4

NOTE 1.—DEFINITIONS. *Immigrant aliens*, those arriving whose permanent domicile has been outside the United States and who intend to reside permanently in the United States.

Emigrant aliens, those departing whose permanent residence has been in the United States who intend to reside permanently abroad.

Non-immigrant aliens, those residing abroad making a temporary trip to the United States.

Non-emigrant aliens, those residing in the United States making a temporary trip abroad.

The figures based on these definitions are not reliable as they depend solely upon the alien's statement of his intention.

NOTE 2.—This figure is ascertained by subtracting from the total of "immigrant aliens" and "non-immigrant aliens" the "emigrant aliens" and the "non-emigrant aliens."

NOTE 3.—The Burnett bill (Public Acts, 64th Cong., No. 301), which excluded illiterate aliens over sixteen years of age with certain exceptions, went into effect as regards illiteracy on May 5, 1917. Consequently less than two months of the year covered by the figures were under the operation of the Burnett bill. In May and June, 391 were deported as illiterates.

NOTE 4.—These figures are obtained by assuming that the immigrant aliens under 14 years of age brought no money, had no occupation, and did not pay their own passage.

Largest Elements in Recent Immigration.

1916

English	50,950
South Italian	36,470
Mexican	25,161
Scandinavian	24,131
Hebrew	23,333

1917

South Italian	35,154
English	32,246
Greek	25,919
French	24,405
Scandinavian	19,596

Remarks

The total immigration in 1917 was about the same as in 1916; but the net addition to population was almost twice as large, and was four times the net addition of 1915.

Under the Act of Feb. 5, 1917, the reading test was in operation for less than two months of the year reported on. During this period 391 aliens were debarred for illiteracy. Section 9 of the Act levies a fine of \$200 on the steamship company for each illiterate brought, when such illiteracy could have been detected by the exercise of reasonable precaution. Fines were imposed in 276 cases, of which only 8 were at the port of New York. The difference between fines and deportations was due to a compromise in the case of certain ships delayed by weather conditions.

Other fines imposed were as follows:

<i>Cause</i>	<i>Number debarred</i>	<i>Number of Fines</i>
Idiocy	9	1
Imbecility	19	2
Dangerous Contagious Disease	1,495	76
Total	1,523	79

From the foregoing it will be seen that the administrative fine provisions of the law are not being used as effectively as they might be, for it is inconceivable that the diseases could have been discovered by reasonable diligence on the part of the transportation companies in only 79 out of 1,523 cases.

The Commissioner-General has this to say about the new law:

"The new law is, in most if not all respects, an eminently satisfactory piece of legislation; it is going to be of great benefit to the country. . . .

"There had been a quite general impression that the [reading] test would be difficult of application. The bureau has been agreeably surprised to find in the drafting of the regulations that methods of applying the test to concrete cases could be devised that are comparatively simple [and] that give promise of expedition in practice. . . .

"The geographical excluding clause . . . is, in the bureau's judgment, the most far-reaching and most beneficial provision of . . . the Act. . . . It recognizes the impossibility that this country shall ever consent to the settlement here of thousands of orientals who inherently . . . are incapable of assimilation into the body politic of a nation the population of which is of occidental origin. . . . The new provision has settled the Hindu immigration problem, which a few years ago threatened to be one of the most distressing phases of immigration. . . ."

There is considerable agitation at the present time to suspend the Chinese Exclusion Acts and to import coolies for agricultural purposes during the war. This should not be done unless it is found absolutely necessary. It is with the greatest difficulty that, under the present laws, the smuggling of Chinese can be detected and the coolies deported. Even with complete photographic registration of all coolies now in the country, it would probably be impossible to send back all of any large number imported, while any children born here would be American citizens. There is the further danger that pressure would be exerted by large employers of cheap labor to continue the practice of importation after the war. Furthermore, the suspension of the Chinese acts would be likely to have an effect upon the gentleman's agreement with Japan. We have already seen the danger in war time of the presence of large numbers of aliens not in sympathy with the aims of this country. To further increase this number would be to add a political to an economic danger.

The League's bill restricting immigration by a numerical test will shortly be introduced into Congress. This limits immigration from any country during any year to 50 per cent. of natives of such country naturalized here at the time of the last census. It would not reduce immigration from Northwestern Europe, but would considerably reduce that from Southeastern Europe. It is not intended to alter the status of oriental immigration.

For other publications, address the Immigration Restriction League, 11 Pemberton Sq., Boston, Mass. The last annual report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, and a pamphlet containing the latest laws and regulations, can be obtained by addressing the Immigration Bureau, Washington, D.C.

For general information on immigration, see Prescott F. Hall, *Immigration and its Effects upon the United States* (New York, Holt, 2d Ed., 1908). Henry P. Fairchild, *Immigration* (New York, Macmillan, 1913). Edward A. Ross, *The Old World in the New* (New York, Century Co., 1914). F. J. Warne, *The Tide of Immigration* (New York, Appleton, 1916).

The League's Numerical Limitation Bill.

On April 8, the League's bill for the further restriction of immigration by means of a numerical limitation was introduced into Congress as H. R. 11280. The text of the bill is given below.

This bill has two objects. First, to be ready to meet a possible large immigration of inferior quality after the war; and second, to provide adequate restriction after the protective effect of the reading test provision of the Act of Feb. 5, 1917 shall have passed away, owing to the spread of elementary education in the backward countries of Europe and western Asia.

The effect of the bill will be similar to that of the reading test, in that it will discriminate in favor of immigrants from Northern and Western Europe, thus securing for this country aliens of kindred and homogeneous racial stocks. It provides that immigration from any country shall not exceed in any year from 20 to 50 per cent. of the number of naturalized males from such country at the time of the last preceding census; the exact percentage to be determined by the Secretary of Labor, in April of each year, with reference to labor conditions then prevailing. In a year of normally large immigration, like 1914, if we assume the maximum percentage of 50 to be used, the effect of the bill would have been as follows:—

	<i>Actually admitted</i>	<i>Admissible under bill</i>
Northern and Western Europe	189,177	1,090,500
Southern and Eastern Europe	945,288	279,288

It will be noticed that, even if the minimum percentage in the bill be used instead of the maximum, this would still have allowed 436,200 immigrants from Northern and Western Europe in 1914, or about two and one-half times the number who actually sought admission.

Text of the League's Numerical Bill.

H. R. 11280.

65TH CONGRESS, 2D SESSION.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

APRIL 8, 1918.

A BILL

To regulate the immigration of aliens to the United States.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section three of the Act of February fifth, nineteen hundred and seventeen, entitled "An Act to regulate the immigration of aliens to, and the residence of aliens in, the United States," is hereby amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"Provided further, That the number of aliens of any nationality who may be admitted to the United States, including Alaska, Hawaii, and Porto Rico, in any fiscal year, shall be limited to such percentage not less than twenty nor more than fifty of the number of males of such nationality twenty-one years of age and over naturalized and resident in the United States, at the time of the United States census next preceding as the Secretary of Labor shall determine as hereinafter provided. This provision, hereinafter called the per centum limit, shall not apply to aliens in continuous transit through the United States, nor to aliens who have been lawfully admitted to the United States and who later shall go in transit from one part of the United States to another through foreign contiguous territory, nor to aliens visiting the United States as tourists or temporarily for business or pleasure, nor to aliens who are natives of countries of the Western Hemisphere. For the purposes of this provision nationality shall be determined by country of birth.

"The Secretary of Labor shall in April of each year determine the per centum limit, within the limits hereinbefore specified for the following fiscal year, having regard to the labor conditions in the United States and the maintenance of the American standards of living and wages; and shall make such regulations as shall prevent congestion of immigration at any period of the year, promote the convenience of the transportation companies, and avoid hardships to the immigrants. The Commissioner General of Immigration shall issue a monthly statement showing the maximum number of aliens of each nationality who may be admitted to the United States during the current fiscal year, together with the number already admitted, but when seventy-five per centum of such maximum number of aliens of any nationality have been admitted, like statements relative to such nationality shall be issued weekly thereafter. When the maximum number of aliens of any nationality shall have been

admitted, all other aliens of such nationality who may apply for admission during the same fiscal year shall be excluded, except that aliens returning from a temporary visit abroad, any alien coming to join a husband, wife, father, mother, son, daughter, aliens who are ministers or religious teachers, lawyers, physicians, chemists, engineers, teachers, students, authors, journalists, merchants, bankers, capitalists, professional artists, lecturers, singers, or actors, and aliens employed strictly as personal or domestic servants by admissible persons traveling to the United States may be admitted, notwithstanding that the maximum number of aliens of like nationality admissible in the same fiscal year shall have entered the United States.

“The accredited officials of foreign governments, their suites, members of their families, or guests, shall not be considered in fixing the percentage of those that may be admitted under the provisions of this Act.”

SEC. 2. That this Act shall not be construed as amending, repealing, or modifying any law or agreement now existing which forbids the admission of any aliens of any nationality or by any geographical boundary. Nor shall it be construed to admit any of the individuals or classes now excluded by said section three of the Act of February fifth, nineteen hundred and seventeen, hereinabove referred to.

Oriental Immigration.

The bill leaves the status of Oriental immigration precisely as at present; Chinese immigration being limited by the Chinese Exclusion Acts, Japanese by the “Gentlemen’s Agreement” and the Act of Feb. 5, 1917, and Hindu by the geographical limitations of the same Act.

It may be noted that Canada regulates the immigration of Orientals very strictly. *Japanese:* Immigration of the coolie class is limited to between four hundred and five hundred annually, by an agreement with the Japanese Government. The total of Japanese coming in 1917 was 648, as compared with 8,925 coming to the United States. *Chinese:* There is a tax of \$500 per head, with a limitation of one person for every fifty tons of tonnage of vessels, and severe penalties for landing immigrants unlawfully. The total number of Chinese arriving in 1917 was 393 as compared with 1,843 coming to the United States. *Hindus:* There are no special regulations as to Hindu immigration, but in practice it is limited by two orders in council. One of these excludes aliens who come otherwise than by continuous journey from the country of which they are citizens, and on tickets purchased there. (There are no direct steamship lines between India and Canada.) The other requires every alien of an Asiatic race to be in possession of \$200. No Hindus came to Canada in 1917, as compared with 69 coming to the United States.

As we are frequently asked for references on Oriental immigration, we take this opportunity to mention a few. The Library of Congress issues a *Bibliography of References on Chinese Immigration* for free distribution. A pamphlet containing the text of the Chinese Exclusion Acts and the regulations under them can be obtained by addressing the Immigration Bureau, Washington, D.C. Upholding the position of the League, that Oriental immigration should be regulated as at present, see Montaville Flowers, *Japanese Conquest of American Opinion* (New York, G. H. Doran Co., 1917); and Thomas F. Millard, *Our Eastern Question* (New York, Century Co., 1916). For the view that Oriental immigration should be put upon the same basis as other immigration, see Sidney L. Gulick, *The American Japanese Problem* (New York, Scribner's, 1914); and K. K. Kawakami, *Japan in World Politics* (New York, Macmillan, 1917).

For general information on immigration, see Prescott F. Hall, *Immigration and Its Effects upon the United States* (New York, Holt, 2d ed., 1908); Henry P. Fairchild, *Immigration* (New York, Macmillan, 1913); Edward A. Ross, *The Old World in the New* (New York, Century Co., 1914); F. J. Warne, *The Tide of Immigration* (New York, Appleton, 1916).

For other publications of this League, address the Immigration Restriction League, 11 Pemberton Sq., Boston, Mass. From the Immigration Bureau, Washington, D.C., can be obtained a pamphlet containing the immigration laws and regulations, the last *Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration*, and the last number of the *U.S. Immigration Service Bulletin*, issued monthly, and containing current figures. The issues containing the figures for June and December have more ample information and more tables than the intermediate numbers.

This League is a non-partisan and non-sectarian organization, with members from all parts of the United States. Annual membership, one dollar a year; life membership, ten dollars in one payment with no annual dues. For membership address the League, 11 Pemberton Sq., Boston, Mass.

Immigration Figures for 1918

Comparison of the Fiscal Years ending June 30, 1917 and 1918

(From data furnished by the Commissioner-General of Immigration)

Arrivals:	1917	1918
Total	362,887	211,853
Immigrant aliens [See Note 1]	295,403	110,618
Non-immigrant aliens [See Note 1]	67,474	101,235
Debarred from entrance and returned within three years after landing	17,635	8,866
Per cent of total arrivals debarred	4.9	4.2
Departures:		
Total	146,379	193,268
Emigrant aliens [See Note 1]	66,277	94,585
Non-emigrant aliens [See Note 1]	80,102	98,683
Net addition to population [See Note 2]	216,498	18,585
Immigrant aliens:		
Excess over emigrant aliens	229,126	16,033
Teutonic and Keltic races, chiefly from Northern and Western Europe	132,157	45,907
Per cent	44.7	41.5
Slavic and Iberic races, chiefly from South- ern and Eastern Europe	113,737	24,521
Per cent	38.5	22.2
Asiatic	12,156	12,756
Per cent	4.3	11.5
Average money brought in dollars	71.53	81.03
Per cent of farm laborers, laborers, or ser- vants	35.6	24.4
Per cent destined for the four States of Ill., Mass., N.Y., and Pa.	47.2	39.1
Per cent destined for the sixteen States east of the Mississippi River and north of the Potomac and Ohio Rivers	72.4	56.1
Per cent destined for other (Southern and Western) States	26.0	40.6
Per cent destined for Hawaii, Porto Rico, Alaska, and Philippine Islands	1.6	3.3

Immigrant aliens over 16 years of age:	1917	1918
Total number		89,269
Number of illiterates [<i>See Note 3</i>]	35,510	3,772
Going to join relatives		3,346
Fleeing from religious persecution		3
Physically defective		2
Exempt for other causes		161
Debarred		1,598
Deported within 5 years after entry		67
Per cent bringing no money [<i>See Note 4</i>]	15.9	4.2
Per cent of "assisted" whose passage was paid for by others [<i>See Note 4</i>]	25.4	28.3
Per cent having no occupation [<i>See Note 4</i>], ...	22.9	26.4

Appeals and admissions on bond:

Total appeals to Secretary of Labor	5,262	6,173
Per cent admitted on bond	16.8	9.1
Per cent admitted without bond	27.7	20.3
Per cent debarred	54.0	70.3

Aliens certified as physically or mentally defective:

Total certified	15,551	6,153
Admitted	11,106	4,558
Per cent	71.4	74.1

NOTE 1.—DEFINITIONS. *Immigrant aliens*, those arriving whose permanent domicile has been outside the United States and who intend to reside permanently in the United States.

Emigrant aliens, those departing whose permanent residence has been in the United States who intend to reside permanently abroad.

Non-immigrant aliens, those residing abroad making a temporary trip to the United States.

Non-emigrant aliens, those residing in the United States making a temporary trip abroad.

The figures based on these definitions are not reliable as they depend solely upon the alien's statement of his intention.

NOTE 2.—This figure is ascertained by subtracting from the total of "immigrant aliens" and "non-immigrant aliens" the "emigrant aliens" and the "non-emigrant aliens."

NOTE 3.—The Act of Feb. 5, 1917, excluded illiterates over 16 years of age with certain exceptions. The number of illiterates given above for 1917 represents those over 14 years of age, the tabulation for 1918 having been changed to conform to the new law.

NOTE 4.—These figures are obtained by assuming that immigrant aliens under 16 years of age brought no money, had no occupation and did not pay their own passage. The figures given for 1917 are on the same basis for those under 14 years of age.

Largest Elements in Recent Immigration

1916

English	50,950
South Italian	36,470
Mexican	25,161
Scandinavian	24,131
Hebrew	23,333

1917

South Italian	35,154
English	32,246
Greek	25,919
French	24,405
Scandinavian	19,596

1918

Mexican	17,602
English	12,980
Japanese	10,168
Scandinavian	8,741
Spanish	7,909

Causes of Debarment 1918.

Likely to become a public charge	2,836
Unable to read	1,598
Physically diseased	496
Mentally diseased	143
Physically or mentally defective	315
Criminals	160
Immoral	249
Contract laborers	474

Remarks.

The war caused a still further falling off in the total immigration, and reduced the net addition to population almost to nothing. The best authorities are of the opinion that there will be a large increase in immigration in the next few years, and probably of the less desirable races. In view of this probability, bills have been introduced providing for a numerical limitation (H. R. 11280, see Publication of this League No. 69), and

for a four-year total exclusion, followed by the same numerical limitation (H. R. 14163). At the present writing, it seems likely that the exclusion provision alone will be reported, leaving the numerical limitation for future action.

Administrative fines were assessed in 337 cases, amounting to \$63,515, as compared with \$66,740 in 1917 on a much larger volume of immigration. Of the fines in 1918, 192 cases, amounting to \$38,400, were for bringing illiterate aliens. Fines were imposed in only 192 cases out of 1,598 illiterates debarred.

It will be noted that the racial composition of last year's immigration was quite unusual, in respect to the relatively large numbers of Mexicans and Japanese. Agricultural and railroad work in the Southwest accounts for the increase in Mexican immigration, the reading test and contract labor provisions of the law having been suspended to allow the temporary admission of laborers. Japanese immigration was less last year than in 1917.

In addition to the literature mentioned in Pub. 69, we would recommend *The Passing of the Great Race* by Madison Grant (New York, Scribners, 2d ed., 1917), which throws much light on the more fundamental questions of migration; and *The Immigration Problem* by J. W. Jenks and W. J. Lauck (New York, Funk & Wagnalls, 4th ed., 1917), which contains many valuable statistics.

For other publications of this League, address the Immigration Restriction League, 11 Pemberton Sq., Boston, Mass. From the Immigration Bureau, Washington, D.C., can be obtained a pamphlet containing the immigration laws and regulations, the last *Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration*, and the last number of the *U.S. Immigration Service Bulletin*, issued monthly, and containing current figures. The issues containing the figures for June and December have more ample information and more tables than the intermediate numbers.

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IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION AND WORLD EUGENICS

PRESCOTT F. HALL

(Reprinted from the Journal of Heredity (Organ of the American Genetic Association), Vol. X, No. 3, Washington, D.C., March, 1919.)

There is one aspect of immigration restriction in the various countries which does not often receive much attention, namely, the possibility of its use as a method of world eugenics. Most persons think of migration in terms of space,—as the moving of a certain number of people from one part of the earth's surface to another. Whereas the much more important aspect of it is that of a functioning in time.

This comes from two facts. The first is that the vacuum left in any country by emigration is rapidly filled up through a rise in the birth rate. There are more people in England to-day than in the time of Elizabeth, in spite of the enormous emigration from that country to all parts of the world; and there are just as many sparrows in England to-day, in spite of the unfortunate spread of those birds in the United States. The vacuum is chiefly filled by the breeding of the lower classes. Thus, according to Professor Pearson, more than one-half the births in England are now from the lowest one-sixth of the population. In Italy, a similar condition fills the vacuum left by the very large emigration from there to North and South America.

The second fact is that immigration to any country of a given stratum of population tends to sterilize all strata of higher social and economic levels already in that country. So true is this that nearly all students of the matter are agreed that the United States would have a larger population to-day if there had been no immigration since 1820, and, it is needless to add, a much more homogeneous population. As long as the people of any community are relatively homogeneous, what differences of wealth and social position there may be do not affect the birth rate, or do so only after a considerable

time. But put into that community a number of immigrants, inferior mentally, socially, and economically, and the natives are unwilling to have their children associate with them in work or social life. They then limit the number of their children in order to give them the capital or education to enter occupations in which they will not be brought into contact with the new arrivals. This result is quite apparent in New England, where successive waves of immigration from lower and lower levels have been coming in for eighty years. In the West, the same New England stock has a much higher birth rate, showing that its fertility has in no way diminished. In the South, where until very recently there was no immigration at all, and the only socially inferior race was clearly separated by the accident of color, the birth rate has remained very high, and the very large families of the colonial period are even now not uncommon.

This is not to say that other causes do not contribute to lower the birth rate of a country, for that is an almost world-wide phenomenon. But the desire to be separated from inferiors is as strong a motive to birth control as the desire for luxury or to ape one's economic superiors. Races follow Gresham's law as to money; the poorer of two kinds in the same place tends to supplant the better. Mark you, *supplant*, not drive out. One of the most common fallacies is the idea that the natives whose places are taken by lower immigration are "driven up" to more responsible positions. A few may be pushed up; more are driven to a new locality, as happened in the mining regions; but most are prevented from coming into existence at all.

What is the result, then, of the migration of a million persons of lower level into a country where the average is of a higher level? Considering the world as a whole, there are, after a few years, two million persons of the lower type in the world, and probably from half a million to a million less of the higher type. The proportion of lower to higher in the country from which the migration goes may remain the same; but in the country receiving it, it has *risen*. Is the world as a whole the gainer?

Of course, the euthenist says at once that these immigrants are improved. We may grant that, although the improvement is probably much exaggerated. You cannot make bad stock into good by changing its meridian, any more than you can turn a cart horse into a hunter by putting it into a fine stable, or make a mongrel into a fine dog by teaching it tricks. But such improvement as there is involves time, expense, and trouble; and, when it is done, has anything been gained? Will any one say that the races that have supplanted the old Nordic stock in New England are any better, or as good, as the

descendants of that stock would have been if their birth rate had not been lowered?

Further, in addition to the purely biological aspects of the matter, there are certain psychological ones. Although a cosmopolitan atmosphere furnishes a certain freedom in which strong congenital talents can develop, it is a question whether as many are not injured as helped by this. Indeed, there is considerable evidence to show that for the production of great men, a certain homogeneity of environment is necessary. The reason of this is very simple. In a homogeneous community, opinions on a large number of matters are fixed. The individual does not have to attend to such things, but is free to go ahead on some special line of his own, to concentrate to his limit on his work, even though that work be fighting the common opinions. But in a community of many races, there is either cross-breeding or there is not. If there is, the children of such cross-breeding are liable to inherit two souls, two temperaments, two sets of opinions, with the result in many cases that they are unable to think or act strongly and consistently in any direction. The classic examples are Cuba, Mexico and Brazil. On the other hand, if there is no cross-breeding, the diversity exists in the original races, and in a community full of diverse ideals of all kinds much of the energy of the higher type of man is dissipated, and in two ways. First, in the intellectual field there is much more doubt about everything, and he tends to weigh, discuss, and agitate many more subjects, in order to arrive at a conclusion amid the opposing views. Second, in practical affairs, much time and strength have to be devoted to keeping things going along the old lines, which could have been spent in new research and development. In how many of our large cities to-day are men of the highest type spending their whole time fighting, often in vain, to maintain standards of honesty, decency, and order, and in trying to compose the various ethnic elements, who should be free to build new structures upon the old!

The moral seems to be this: Eugenics among individuals is encouraging the propagation of the fit, and limiting or preventing the multiplication of the unfit. World eugenics is doing precisely the same thing as to races considered as wholes. Immigration restriction is a species of segregation on a large scale, by which inferior stocks can be prevented from both diluting and supplanting good stocks. Just as we isolate bacterial invasions, and starve out the bacteria by limiting the area and amount of their food supply, so we can compel an inferior race to remain in its native habitat, where its own multiplication in a limited area will, as with all organisms, eventually limit

its numbers and therefore its influence. On the other hand, the superior races, more self-limiting than the others, with the benefits of more space and nourishment will tend to still higher levels.

This result is not merely a selfish benefit to the higher races, but a good to the world as a whole. The object is to produce the greatest number of those fittest not "for survival" merely, but fittest for all purposes. The lower types among men progress, so far as their racial inheritance allows them to, chiefly by imitation and emulation. The presence of the highest development and the highest institutions among any race is a distinct benefit to all the others. It is a gift of psychological environment to any one capable of appreciation.

It is important, therefore, that nothing in the constitution of the League of Nations should limit the right of any nation to decide who shall be admitted into its life; for, as Le Bon says, a preponderance of foreign elements destroys the most precious thing it possesses—its own soul.

Immigration Figures for 1919

Comparison of the Fiscal Years ending June 30, 1918 and 1919

(From data furnished by the Commissioner-General of Immigration)

Total immigration 1820-1919 [See Note 1]		33,200,103
Arrivals:	1918	1919
Total	211,853	237,021
Immigrant aliens [See Note 2]	110,618	141,132
Non-immigrant aliens [See Note 2]	101,235	95,889
Debarred from entrance and returned after landing	8,866	11,694
Per cent of total arrivals debarred	3.5	3.6
Debarred and returned	4.2	4.9
Departures:		
Total	193,268	216,231
Emigrant aliens [See Note 2]	94,585	123,522
Non-emigrant aliens [See Note 2]	98,683	92,709
Net addition to population [See Note 3]	18,585	20,790
Immigrant aliens:		
Excess over emigrant aliens	16,033	17,610
Teutonic and Keltic races, chiefly from Northern and Western Europe	45,907	73,511
Per cent	41.5	52.1
Slavic and Iberic races, chiefly from Southern and Eastern Europe	24,521	14,788
Per cent	22.2	10.5
Asiatic	12,756	12,512
Per cent	11.5	8.9
Average money brought in dollars	81.03	112.17
Per cent of farm laborers, laborers, or servants	24.4	20.5
Per cent destined for the four States of Ill., Mass., N.Y., and Pa.	39.1	48.1
Per cent destined for the sixteen States east of the Mississippi River and north of the Potomac and Ohio Rivers	56.1	51.7
Per cent destined for other (Southern and Western) States	40.6	46.1
Per cent destined for Hawaii, Porto Rico, Alaska, and Philippine Islands	3.3	2.2

Immigrant aliens over 16 years of age:	1918	1919
Total number	89,269	114,759
Number of illiterates [<i>See Note 4</i>]	3,772	3,270
Going to join relatives	3,346	2,684
Fleeing from religious persecution	3	2
Exempt for other causes	161	141
Debarred	1,598	1,455
Deported within 5 years after entry	67	466
Per cent of "assisted" whose passage was paid for by others [<i>See Note 5</i>]	28.3	39.3
Per cent having no occupation [<i>See Note 5</i>], ...	26.4	27.8
Appeals and admissions on bond:		
Total appeals to Secretary of Labor	6,173	4,140
Per cent admitted on bond	9.1	5.6
Per cent admitted without bond	20.3	18.8
Per cent debarred	70.3	75.6
Aliens certified as physically or mentally defective:		
Total certified	6,153	6,060
Admitted	4,558	4,487
Per cent	74.1	76.0

NOTE 1.—This includes all alien arrivals to 1905 inclusive and "immigrant aliens" since then.

NOTE 2.—DEFINITIONS. *Immigrant aliens*, those arriving whose permanent domicile has been outside the United States and who intend to reside permanently in the United States. *Emigrant aliens*, those departing whose permanent residence has been in the United States who intend to reside permanently abroad. *Non-immigrant aliens*, those residing abroad making a temporary trip to the United States. *Non-emigrant aliens*, those residing in the United States making a temporary trip abroad.

The figures based on these definitions are not reliable as they depend solely upon the alien's statement of his intention.

NOTE 3.—This figure is ascertained by subtracting from the total of "immigrant aliens" and "non-immigrant aliens" the "emigrant aliens" and the "non-emigrant aliens."

NOTE 4.—The Act of Feb. 5, 1917, excluded illiterates over 16 years of age with certain exceptions. The number of illiterates in 1917, over 14 years of age, was 35,510.

NOTE 5.—These figures are obtained by assuming that immigrant aliens under 16 years of age had no occupation and did not pay their own passage.

Largest Elements in Recent Immigration

1918											
Mexican	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	17,602
English	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	12,980
Japanese	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	10,168
Scandinavian	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	8,741
Spanish	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	7,909

1919											
Mexican	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	28,884
English	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	26,889
French	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	12,598
Scotch	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	10,364
Japanese	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	10,056

Principal Causes of Debarment

	1918		1919	
Likely to become a public charge		2,836		3,994
Unable to read		1,598		1,455
Physically diseased	496		388	
Mentally diseased	143		141	
Physically or mentally defective	315	954	343	872
Criminals	160		261	
Immoral	249	409	135	396
Contract laborers		474		774
Total debarred		7,297		8,626

Remarks

The effect of the war on immigration is beginning to pass away. Although the total arrivals in 1919 were less than in 1917, at the date of going to press immigration has increased rapidly; and this in spite of the fact that the war passport regulations have been extended by Congress indefinitely, both as a protection against undesirable aliens and to allow time for more adequate legislation of a permanent character. The League's bill has been introduced into the House (H. R. 10837).

As was the case last year, a large number of Mexicans have been admitted for temporary agricultural work; and this fact, together with

the Japanese immigration, accounts for the relatively large number going to the Southern and Western States.

The percentage of aliens certified as mentally and physically defective who were allowed to land has steadily increased: being 71.4 in 1917; 74.1 in 1918; and 76.0 in 1919.

Although the total of debarred was 1,329 greater this year than last, the administrative fines imposed were only \$58,055 as compared with \$63,515 last year; and of this \$58,055, the sum of \$32,830 was for failure to furnish information, leaving only \$25,225 as fines for bringing 8,626 debarred persons (the fine in most cases being \$200). Fines for bringing illiterates were imposed in only 62 out of 1,455 cases; and for bringing mentally or physically diseased or defective persons in only 43 out of 872 cases. The law does not impose fines on the transportation companies bringing aliens from foreign contiguous territory; but it seems unlikely that this accounts for all the cases in which no fines were imposed.

A thorough and valuable study of Italian immigration is that of Dr. Robert F. Foerster of Harvard University, *The Italian Emigration of Our Times*. (Cambridge. Harvard University Press. 1919.)

For other publications of this League, address the Immigration Restriction League, 11 Pemberton Sq., Boston, Mass. From the Immigration Bureau, Washington, D.C., can be obtained a pamphlet containing the immigration laws and regulations, the last *Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration*, and the last number of the *U.S. Immigration Service Bulletin*, issued monthly, and containing current figures.

This League is a non-partisan and non-sectarian organization, with members from all parts of the United States. Annual membership, one dollar a year; life membership, ten dollars in one payment with no annual dues. For membership address the League, 11 Pemberton Sq., Boston, Mass.

BRIEF IN FAVOR OF THE NUMERICAL LIMITATION BILL

(66th Congress, H. R. 10837, contained in Publication No. 69 of the League; see also § 9 of H. R. 12320, introduced by the Chairman of the House Committee on Immigration, Feb. 4, 1920)

The League's bill limits the number of aliens from any nation who may come in, during any year, to such percentage between twenty and fifty of the number of males of such nationality naturalized in the United States at the date of the preceding census, as the Secretary of Labor may fix, having regard to labor conditions here.

Aliens returning from a temporary visit abroad, aliens coming to join certain relatives, and certain classes of professional persons may enter in addition to the maximum fixed by the bill.

The bill does not apply to natives of the Western Hemisphere; and leaves Oriental immigration to be regulated as at present

A. Further restriction of immigration both as to quantity and quality is essential to the preservation of American ideals and institutions.

Prior to 1880, immigration was chiefly from races akin to the original settlers in race, institutions and historical background. Since 1880, the opposite is the case. In 1880, 65 per cent of the total immigration came from Northern and Western Europe. In 1914, the last year of large immigration before the war, 68 per cent of the total immigration was of the Slavic and Iberic races of Eastern and Southern Europe. Whatever the merits of these latter races of immigrants, they are not familiar with democratic institutions, are largely ignorant of the English language, and until the Act of 1917 were more than one-third illiterate even as to their own language.

As Gustav Le Bon says, too large a preponderance of foreigners (meaning those foreign in ideas and customs) destroys that most vital possession of a nation—its own soul. The downfall of nearly every great civilization has been due in large part to the peaceful invasion of large numbers of persons having different aims and customs.

B. Further restriction of immigration, both as to quantity and quality, is essential to the Americanization of immigrants already here and those to be admitted hereafter.

To attempt to assimilate the enormous immigrant population already here, to teach it our language and something of our history and government, above all, to imbue it with our traditions and ideals, in the face of an additional immigration of a million or more a year, is a hopeless task. It is like trying to keep a leaking boat dry without stopping the leak.

Adequate assimilation means not only great labor and expense, but it requires time. It requires something more than evening classes for adults, and flag exercises in the schools. Many aliens are settled in communities where they hear only their own language, and read, if they are able to read, only newspapers in that language. The most potent assimilative force is contact and exchange of ideas with the native population. This requires time, even in the case of the children. Meanwhile we need elbow-room to make adequate progress with those already here; as is shown in League Publication No. 74 by Robert De C. Ward.

C. The preservation of American institutions and the assimilation of immigrants demand that the bulk of further immigration should be of kindred races.

It is obvious that those whose home government, institutions and habits are more akin to our own will most easily fit into our life here and be the easiest to assimilate socially, economically and politically.

D. The proposed bill operates along the same lines as the reading test in the Act of 1917, but is needed to supplement that test.

In the opinion of government officials and expert students of the matter, the reading test has proved to be one of the most valuable features of the law. In 1917, the total number of illiterates over fourteen years of age admitted was 35,510; in 1918, the total number of illiterates admitted over sixteen years of age, under the exceptions in the law, was 3,772. This reduction was effected chiefly in the aliens from Southern and Eastern Europe, where the rate of illiteracy is high. The reading test has also proved valuable in excluding feeble-minded and other defective persons who might not have been excluded without it.

But the effect of the reading test will presently diminish; partly

through the natural spreading of education to the countries backward in that respect, partly because those same countries will make special efforts to promote elementary education. This latter effect of the law is noticeable in Italy, where, since the passage of the test, preparations are being made to make reading available to all intending emigrants. The increase in popular education abroad is one of the beneficial results of our present immigration law.

Therefore some measure operating along the same lines is needed to supplement the reading test before the latter begins to lose its effect.

E. The proposed bill, while reducing the total volume of immigration, reduces it chiefly as to those countries of Eastern and Southern Europe whose emigrants are less easily assimilated here.

As stated above under A and B, what is needed is that aliens shall not be allowed to come in faster than they can be assimilated. This implies a reduction of the total number from the million a year who came to us before the war; and especially a reduction in such a way that the bulk of immigration shall be of the kindred races of Northern and Western Europe.

The proposed bill, under its maximum provision of 50 per cent, would have had the following effect in a year of normally large immigration like 1914:

	<i>Actually admitted</i>	<i>Admissible under bill</i>
Northern and Western Europe.....	189,177	1,090,500
Southern and Eastern Europe.....	945,288	279,288

In other words, the total European immigration would have been reduced to 43 per cent of the actual volume by reducing the immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe to 29 per cent of its actual volume.

The proposed bill, under its minimum provision of 20 per cent, would have had the following effect in 1914:

	<i>Actually admitted</i>	<i>Admissible under bill</i>
Northern and Western Europe.....	189,177	436,200
Southern and Eastern Europe.....	945,288	111,715

In other words, the total European immigration would have been reduced to 26 per cent of its actual volume, by reducing the immigra-

tion from Southern and Eastern Europe to 12 per cent of its actual volume.

It will be noticed that the number, admissible under the bill, from Northern and Western Europe, is much larger than actually came in 1914, and than is likely to come in any future year.

It is possible that some increase of these races might take place when they are no longer so subject to the overwhelming competition of the races from Southern and Eastern Europe. In the past, such competition has been a powerful factor in checking immigration from Northern and Western Europe. But much increase is not likely, and if it took place, being of kindred races it would be more easily assimilated.

F. The proposed bill would discriminate against those less assimilable.

Most of the arguments in favor of the reading test (set forth in Publications Nos. 56 and 63) support this bill also. The races of Eastern and Southern Europe are relatively illiterate; and investigation has shown that illiteracy goes hand in hand with various other undesirable qualities which make assimilation difficult.

The recent immigration, for example, does not distribute itself over the country to build up new communities, as did the earlier; but tends to congregate in certain States, in the large cities of those States, and in the congested districts of those cities.

The *Census of 1910*, Volume I, *Population*, page 814, showed that the States of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania contained 67.8 per cent of all the Roumanians in the United States; 64.0 per cent of all the Hungarians; 58.4 per cent of all the Italians; and 55.7 per cent of all the Russians. This compares with 34.8 per cent of the English, 33.8 per cent of the French, 30.2 per cent of the Germans and 13.2 per cent of the Swedes.

Volume I, page 818, showed that 78.6 per cent of those from Eastern and Southern Europe live in cities as compared with 68.3 per cent of those from Northern and Western Europe. Volume I, page 1273, shows that, of those unable to speak English, 69.2 per cent live in cities.

In 1900, Chicago contained 91 per cent of all the Poles in Illinois, and 84 per cent of all the Italians. New York City contained 47 per cent of all the Poles in the State, 80 per cent of all the Italians and 94 per cent of all the Russian Jews. The *Seventh Special Report of the U.S. Commissioner of Labor* (1894, p. 44) showed that natives

of Austria-Hungary, Italy, Poland and Russia constituted 6 times their normal proportion in the slums of Baltimore, 7 times in Chicago, 5 times in New York and 26 times in Philadelphia.

This tendency to slum life is largely due to ignorance of gainful trades, and in part to lack of savings. The *Report of the Industrial Commission* showed that in 1900, while the British and Germans brought with them \$30 to \$40 per capita, the Southern Italians, Poles and Hebrews brought less than \$10.

G. The basis of exclusion in the bill, namely an annual immigration limited to from 20 to 50 per cent of the males of any nationality naturalized at the date of the last census, is a sound one.

The best test of assimilation and of the desire of those of any race to throw in their lot with us permanently is the degree to which they become naturalized. Races who do this are in general those most nearly kindred to us, as appears from the following table.

The *Census of 1910*, Volume I, page 1072, gave the proportion of foreign-born males of voting age who were naturalized, for the nations specified, as follows:

<i>Northern and Western Europe</i>		<i>Eastern and Southern Europe</i>	
Germany	69.5	Turkey in Europe.....	43.0
Wales	69.2	Roumania	28.8
Ireland	67.8	Russia	26.1
Sweden	62.8	Portugal	24.9
Switzerland	61.8	Austria	24.6
Denmark	61.6	Turkey in Asia.....	21.2
Norway	57.1	Italy	17.7
Netherlands	56.8	Spain	16.4
France	49.6	Hungary	14.3
Belgium	43.0	Greece	6.6

H. This bill does not in any way repeal or modify the present laws excluding Oriental immigration. It is entirely different from the so-called "Gulick" bill.

This League believes that, whatever the merits of the Chinese, Japanese and Hindus may be, the public opinion of this country is entirely justified in demanding that they be substantially excluded, as at present, and not allowed to come into economic competition here with our manual workers. It has therefore opposed and now opposes the Gulick bill, which repeals all specific Oriental exclusion and retains as the only barrier a percentage limitation. Although

the Gulick bill is also a numerical limitation plan, its basis for exclusion is different from that of the League's bill; and, in the opinion of experts, the Gulick plan might allow several million Orientals to be here at the end of fifty years. We have had a troublesome experience with the African races, and we ought not to risk any repetition of this trouble with the Asiatic races. It may be noted that the exclusion of Orientals from Australia, New Zealand and Canada is much more rigid than from the United States.

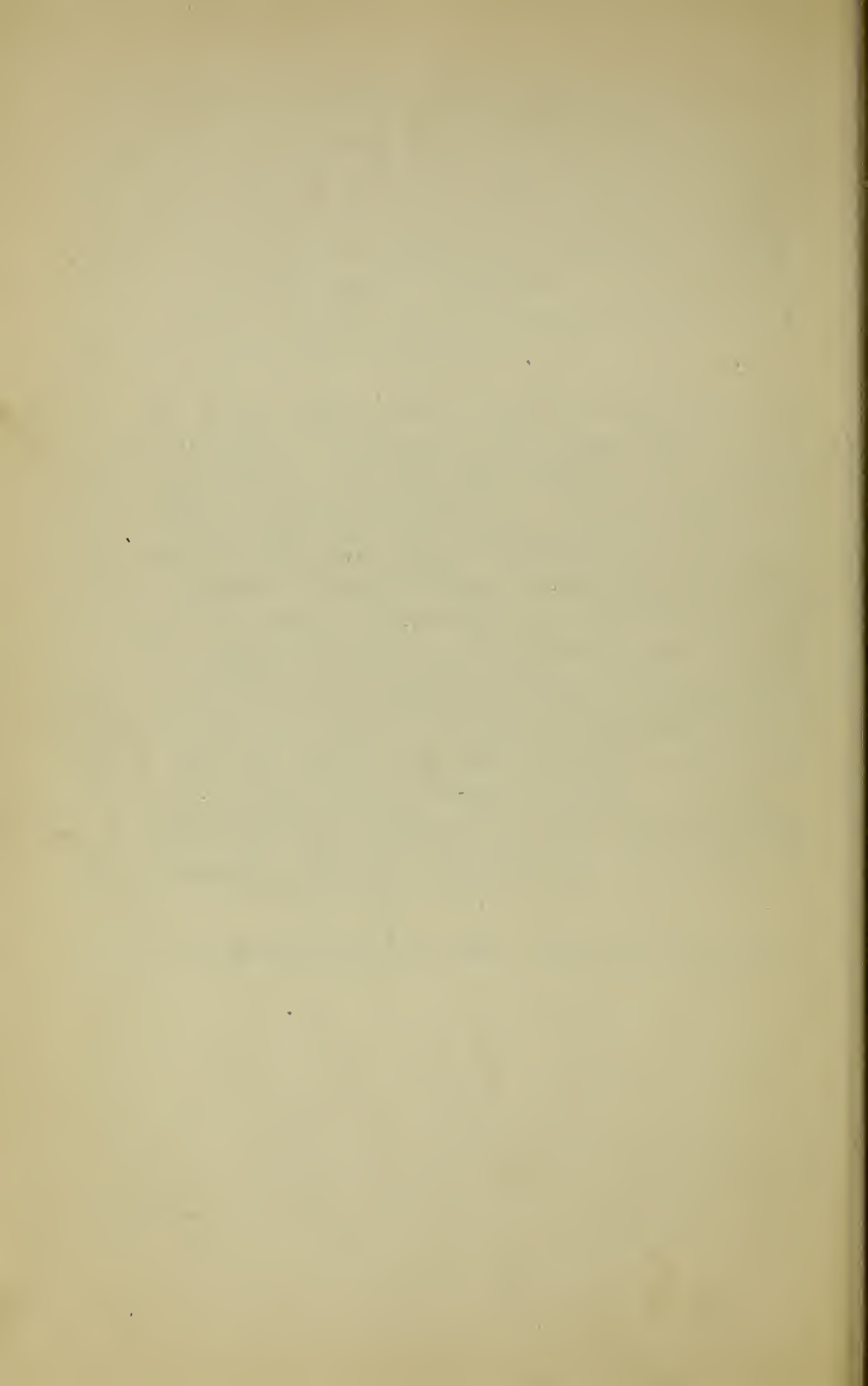
The League's bill should not be associated with the Gulick bill. They are entirely different propositions.

I. The time to adopt adequate measures of restriction is now.

The war acted for several years as the strongest kind of a check upon all immigration. The best expert opinion is that immigration will increase very rapidly from now on. For some years to come, work of reconstruction may tend to keep at home the better sorts of workingmen in Northwestern Europe. On the other hand, the disturbed political conditions in Eastern Europe, and the destruction of many homes, will tend to uproot many families and make them more ready to try life on another continent. The steamship companies, who know that immigrants are the most profitable cargo they can carry, will be eager to turn this feeling of unsettlement to their profit by inducing as many as possible to come hither. Those having the least stake in their own country, and those not likely to have a large interest in any country are the easiest to persuade.

We should therefore be prepared for a largely increased immigration, probably of a lower grade than heretofore; and should adopt adequate legislation now, before the rush begins.

Issued by the Immigration Restriction League, 11 Pemberton Sq., Boston, Mass.



IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION ESSENTIAL TO AMERICANIZATION

ROBERT DE C. WARD

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* * * * *

The complete Americanization program involves more than many of those who are at present engaged in it yet realize. There are four phases of it: education, assimilation, Americanization and naturalization. . . . All four phases are naturally and inevitably closely related. The dominant notes in the Americanization campaign at present are education and naturalization, the latter immediately following the former. Far too little attention is paid to the logical sequence of the four stages above named, every one of which is essential to the complete accomplishment of our purpose.

The first step is obviously education. We have suddenly become keenly alive to the danger of having large numbers of aliens among us who cannot speak or read our language, and we realize that the first step must be to give them all a knowledge of English. But it is most important to remember that a common language alone cannot immediately and completely wipe out all discordant racial differences. We rely far too much on education to accomplish Americanization for us. We expect too much of flag exercises and of compositions on George Washington. What is necessarily in many cases often a rather thin veneer of Americanization is generally thought to be sufficient. The war has shown us that we have a far greater responsibility in this matter than simply to see that our alien population goes to school. A common language is, indeed, an implement of Americanization, but it is only one implement. It by no means completes the structure.

The importation, for some decades past, of several hundred thousand non-English-speaking alien illiterates annually has tremendously

increased and complicated the task of educating the millions of native-born American illiterates, of whose presence in the United States many of us have lately for the first time become aware. It does not decrease our national burden of illiteracy when millions of alien illiterates are added to millions of native-born illiterates.

The second step is assimilation. This means . . . the adaptation of our alien population to the general standards of living which we designate as American—standards of cleanliness, of hygiene, of public order and safety and the like. Assimilation is not Americanization, although it is a long step in that direction.

The third stage is Americanization. While assimilation has to do largely with the physical, Americanization is chiefly concerned with the mental and spiritual. It is, of course, true that Americanization to some extent begins at the very beginning, with education, and continues throughout the process of assimilation. But what is here meant by Americanization is the acquirement of such an understanding of our history, our institutions, our government and our ideals as will give all of our foreign-born so deep an appreciation of and love for our country that they will naturally and inevitably wish to become its citizens.

Both assimilation and Americanization need long, close, patient and unselfish personal contact on the part of intelligent and sympathetic Americans with the foreigners whom it is sought to amalgamate into our body politic. This is no "cheap" and "easy" thing. Neither lectures on American statesmen, nor talks on municipal sanitation, can in any conceivable way replace what personal contact alone can give. As Miss Frances A. Kellor recently pointed out in the *Yale Review*: "We face the indisputable fact that almost without exception every foreign-born male adult is a member of some racial organization which takes precedence in his mind over every other form of association of which he is a significant part."

. . . The fourth, and final, stage in the process of complete Americanization is naturalization. And right here it is important to point out that naturalization is no infallible remedy for the evils of non-assimilation. Normal naturalization, which is the result of an alien's own natural desire to become a full-fledged American citizen, is a sane and healthy process. It is good evidence of his intention to become thoroughly assimilated. But forced, wholesale, artificially stimulated naturalization is undesirable. It does not tend to produce 100 per cent. Americans. It may put on the veneer, but by no means necessarily involves that deep and lasting appreciation of our institutions

which is vital in our democracy. It often results in a situation which is already far too common in this country, in which the "magic" expected of a naturalization court does not work.

When aliens do not of themselves ask for naturalization, they are not very likely to be desirable citizens. They may go through the motions without changing their racial prejudices, and without acquiring either our ideas or our ideals. To quote the words of another, "When you persuade a man to join a club he is very likely not to pay his dues in a year or two, and if you persuade him to join our national society when he does not care much about it, the effect is likely to be similar." The Deputy Commissioner of Naturalization has recently called attention to the fact that there are at present several millions of foreign-born in this country who have not become naturalized.

Far better that the remaining unnaturalized millions should remain such than to force them through the naturalization courts before they are thoroughly Americanized. The movement for immediate and wholesale naturalization of our alien population is ill-advised, even dangerous, unless it involves, as a preliminary, complete and honest Americanization. Common citizenship unless it be of the right kind produces the appearance but not the condition of unity. Theodore Roosevelt's last public words expressed his views on this matter in his characteristically forceful language:

We have room for but one language here, and that is the English language, for we intend to see that the crucible turns our people out as Americans, of American nationality, and not as dwellers in a polyglot boarding-house; and we have room for but one soul loyalty, and that is loyalty to the American people.

No American wants any part of the United States, no matter how small a section of it, to be a "polyglot boarding-house." Yet that expression perfectly describes the situation which exists to-day in many places.

There is one further step which is an absolutely essential part of the Americanization campaign. The problem is difficult enough, at best, to require all the energy, and time, and money that can be given to it. But no thorough Americanization can possibly be accomplished unless the numbers of incoming alien immigrants are kept within reasonable limits. It is an absolutely impossible task properly to educate, assimilate, Americanize and naturalize our foreign-born population if millions forever keep pouring in. It is exactly like trying to keep a leaking boat bailed out without stopping the leak. To expect any reasonable success in this campaign, immigration must be restricted.

. . . As soon as ocean transportation is again fully established, there will be a far larger immigration than ever before. It is the opinion of American diplomatic and consular officers in Europe, and of competent correspondents who have recently traveled extensively abroad, that there is everywhere a more widespread desire than ever to "go to America." . . . Immigration, which fell to a very low ebb during the war, is now increasing by leaps and bounds. There is every reason to believe that it will not only return to its pre-war basis, of over 1,000,000 a year, but that it will shortly greatly exceed that number. In his last *Annual Report*, the Commissioner-General of Immigration predicts a rapidly increasing immigration from almost all foreign countries, and a recent writer, after considerable study of the subject, has put the probable annual number of immigrants who will soon be coming here at 2,000,000.¹ Even the most enthusiastic believer in the success of the Americanization movement can hardly face the prospect of an immigration of over a million aliens a year without discouragement and despair. To hope to accomplish successful Americanization when such an unlimited supply of aliens keeps up is to have an optimism "beyond all bounds of reason." A real restriction of immigration is a necessary and a logical part of the Americanization program. . . .

Our present Immigration Act, after having been twice vetoed by President Wilson, was passed over the veto by both Senate and House, and became law on February 5, 1917, about two months before this country declared war. The new statute became effective on May 1, 1917. It is by far the most comprehensive immigration legislation ever enacted in this country, and *if properly enforced* would be of immense benefit to our future race.

. . . This law is at present practically our only breakwater against the advancing tide of alien immigration, which will be both increased in quantity and lowered in quality. Everything should be done to secure the effective administration of the new law, which has not yet had to stand the test of a large immigration. Its rigid enforcement will unquestionably result in an improvement in the mental, physical and moral qualities of immigrants, even if not designed greatly to reduce their numbers.

In its final report (1915) the National Commission on Industrial Relations reached the following conclusion :

The immigration policy of the United States has created a number of our most difficult and serious industrial problems and has been re-

¹ These sentences are slightly changed from the original.

sponsible, in a considerable measure, for the existing state of industrial unrest. The enormous influx of immigrants during the last twenty-five years has already undermined the American standard of living for all workmen except those in skilled trades, and has been the largest single factor in preventing the wage scale from rising as fast as food prices. The great mass of non-English-speaking workers who form about half the labor force in basic industries, has done much to prevent the development of better relations between employer and employee.

The new Immigration Act, while a great advance on previous legislation, goes only a very little way toward remedying the conditions here referred to. This act is *qualitatively selective*, not *quantitatively restrictive*. It will not and cannot greatly reduce the numbers of our immigrants.

Our newspapers have lately been making much of the deportation of alien anarchists and of other groups of agitators. Such deportation, while most desirable in every way for the internal peace and safety of the country, is not a large or important factor in our immigration policy. It concerns a few hundred persons only. . . .

The conviction that our present immigration laws are selective rather than numerically restrictive has naturally resulted in a widespread demand for immediate further legislation which shall really limit the numbers of our alien immigrants. Many bills aiming at a further *restriction* rather than a mere *selection* of immigration have been introduced into the present Congress. One of these (H.R. 10837), introduced by Congressman Nichols of South Carolina, is based on the conviction that one of the best tests of assimilation is the wish to become naturalized. It limits the number of aliens to be admitted from any country in any year to from 20 to 50 per cent. of the persons born in such country who were naturalized at the date of the last census. The exact per cent. is to be fixed annually by the Secretary of Labor, with reference to existing labor conditions in the United States. The percentage plan has the merits of being more than temporary "reconstruction" measure; and of being sufficiently elastic to respond to varying economic conditions. This bill leaves the status of Oriental immigration precisely as at present, and is thus in accord with the convictions of the great majority of our people.¹

A further real *restriction* of immigration is necessary for the proper assimilation and Americanization of our heterogeneous population.

Our attitude on this question of immigration should be clearly

¹ These sentences are slightly changed from the original.

defined. Sentiment will never solve this, or any other great national problem. There is no place here for the idealist who shudders at the mere thought of a further regulation of immigration, and who, holding fast to the vision of the universal brotherhood of man, calls "ungenerous" and "un-American" any one who suggests any further immigration legislation.

The idealist points out what an enormous debt our country owes to its foreign-born citizens. He is constantly reminding us of the remarkable achievements of foreign-born children in our public schools. He has absolute confidence in our capacity to assimilate all people, of all lands, who choose to come here. He believes in the "melting pot," where race hatred and race differences are to be forever done away with. He produces such endless statistics to show that our recent immigrants are far ahead of the native-born in all that pertains to good citizenship that the rest of us sometimes cannot help wondering how our ancestors, of Anglo-Saxon stock, who originally settled the United States, ever had the genius and the wisdom and the courage to fight the Revolutionary War, or to develop our American democratic government.

Yet the idealist is obviously inconsistent when he says he believes in keeping the United States forever the "asylum and the refuge for the down-trodden and oppressed of all nations." He does not really believe in a "haven" open, unrestrictedly, to all comers. He does not want to admit, unreservedly, the alien agitator,¹ the insane, the idiot, the criminal, the prostitute, or those who have "loathsome or dangerous contagious disease." Few of his group want our doors wide open, for all time, to the incoming of millions upon millions of Chinese, Japanese and Hindus. He is beginning to realize that, owing chiefly to his persistent opposition to the enactment of adequate immigration laws, his "asylum," of which he has said so much, is becoming an insane asylum, and his "refuge" is turning into an almshouse, a penitentiary and a hot-bed of alien sedition.¹

Not immigration restriction but indiscriminate hospitality to immigrants is the "ungenerous" and "un-American policy." To grant free admission to all who want to come may give us, for the moment, a comfortable feeling that we are providing a "refuge for the oppressed." But it is in the highest degree "ungenerous" in us, the custodians of the future heritage of our race, to permit to land on our shores mental, physical and moral defectives, who, themselves and through their descendants, will not only lower the standards

¹ Addition.

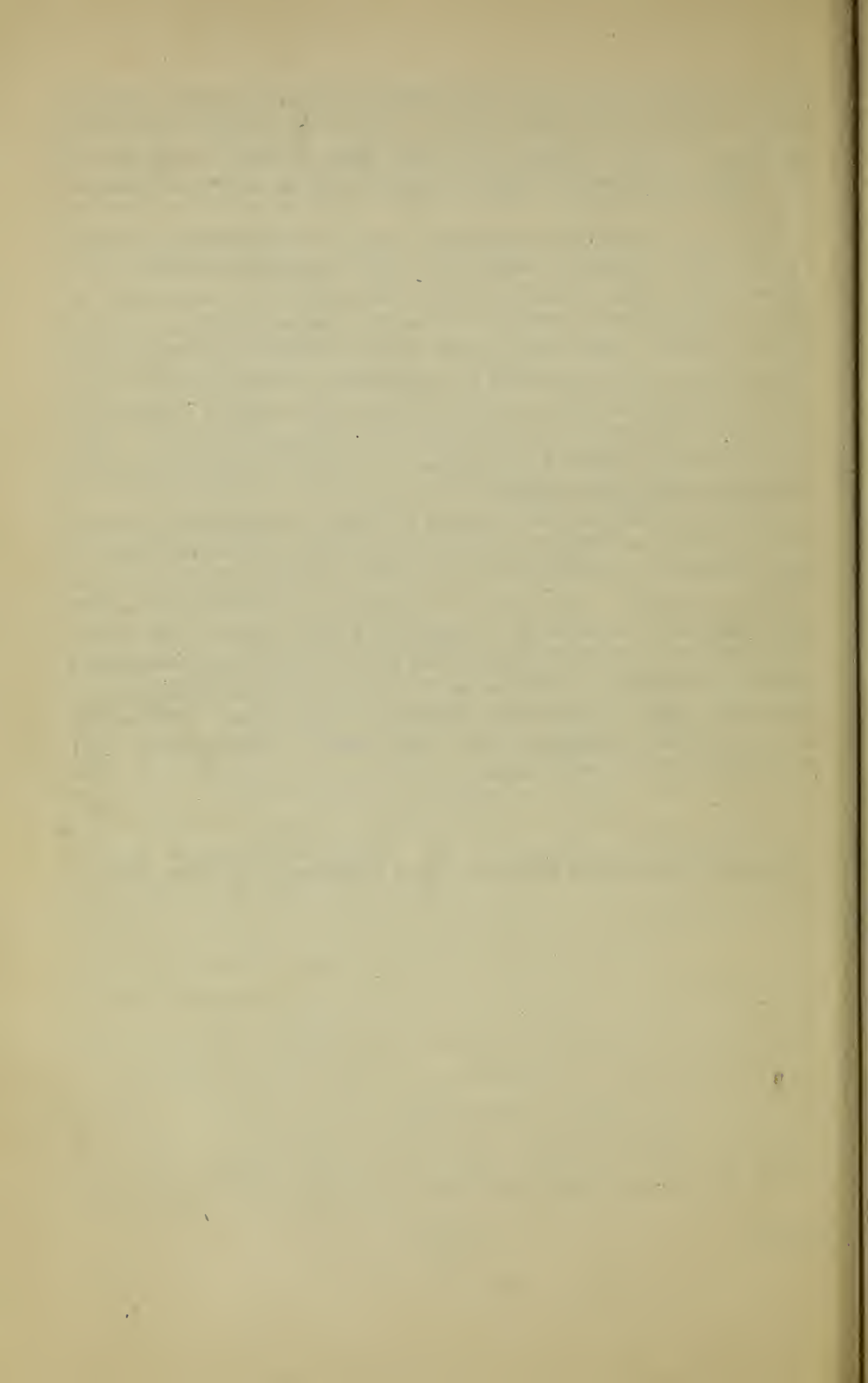
of our own people, but will tremendously increase all future problems of public and private philanthropy. It is in the highest degree "un-American" for us to permit any such influx of alien immigrants as will make the process of Americanization any more difficult than it already is.

Again, our so-called "traditional" policy of admitting practically all who have wished to come has vastly increased discontent and unrest in our own country; and has not helped, but has rather delayed, the introduction of political, social, economic and educational reforms abroad.¹ Had some of the millions of European immigrants remained at home, they would have insisted on reforms in their own countries which have been delayed, decade after decade, because the discontent of Europe found a safety-valve by flying to America. Have we, in any way, helped the progress of all these reforms abroad by keeping the safety-valve open?

By encouraging the discontented millions of Europe and Asia to come here, are we likely to hasten, or to delay, the development of enlightened social democracies in Armenia, in Syria, in Hungary, in Poland, in Turkey? Our duty as Americans, interested in the world-wide progress of education, of religious liberty, and of democratic institutions, is to do everything in our power to help the discontented millions of Europe and Asia to work out, in their own countries, for themselves, what our forefathers worked out here, for us. That would be the greatest contribution we could make to the progress and preservation of American ideals.

¹ Slight changes.

Issued by the Immigration Restriction League, 11 Pemberton Sq., Boston, Mass.



Immigration Figures for 1920

Comparison of the Fiscal Years ending June 30, 1919 and 1920

(From data furnished by the Commissioner-General of Immigration)

Total immigration 1820-1920 [See Note 1]	.	.	.	33,630,104
Arrivals:		1919		1920
Total	.	237,021		621,576
Immigrant aliens [See Note 2]	.	141,132		430,001
Non-immigrant aliens [See Note 2]	.	95,889		191,575
Debarred from entrance and returned after landing	.	11,694		14,546
Per cent of total arrivals debarred	.	3.6		1.9
Debarred and returned	.	4.9		2.3
Departures:				
Total	.	216,231		428,062
Emigrant aliens [See Note 2]	.	123,522		288,315
Non-emigrant aliens [See Note 2]	.	92,709		139,747
Net addition to population [See Note 3]	.	20,790		193,514
Immigrant aliens:				
Excess over emigrant aliens	.	17,610		141,686
Teutonic and Keltic races, chiefly from Northern and Western Europe	.	73,511		183,233
Per cent	.	52.1		42.6
Slavic, Iberic, and Semitic races, chiefly from Southern and Eastern Europe	.	14,788		164,354
Per cent	.	10.5		38.2
Asiatic	.	12,512		14,846
Per cent	.	8.9		3.4
Average money brought in dollars	.	112.17		76.63
Per cent of farm laborers, laborers, or servants	.	20.5		31.2
Per cent destined for the four States of Ill., Mass., N.Y., and Pa.	.	48.1		44.8

Immigrant aliens over 16 years of age:	1919	1920
Total number	114,759	348,311
Number of illiterates [<i>See Note 4</i>]	3,270	15,941
Going to join relatives	2,684	14,741
Fleeing from religious persecution	2	9
Exempt for other causes	141	344
Debarred	1,455	1,639
Deported within 5 years after entry	466	171
Per cent of "assisted" whose passage was paid for by others [<i>See Note 5</i>]	39.3	23.8
Per cent having no occupation [<i>See Note 5</i>],	27.8	26.2

Appeals and admissions on bond:

Total appeals to Secretary of Labor	4,140	4,822
Per cent admitted on bond	5.6	18.8
Per cent admitted without bond	18.8	19.8
Per cent debarred	75.6	61.4

Aliens certified as physically or mentally defective:

Total certified	6,060	13,279
Admitted	4,487	11,541
Per cent	76.0	87.6

NOTE 1.—This includes all alien arrivals to 1905 inclusive and "immigrant aliens" since then.

NOTE 2.—DEFINITIONS. *Immigrant aliens*, those arriving whose permanent domicile has been outside the United States and who intend to reside permanently in the United States. *Emigrant aliens*, those departing whose permanent residence has been in the United States who intend to reside permanently abroad. *Non-immigrant aliens*, those residing abroad making a temporary trip to the United States. *Non-emigrant aliens*, those residing in the United States making a temporary trip abroad.

The figures based on these definitions are not reliable as they depend solely upon the alien's statement of his intention.

NOTE 3.—This figure is ascertained by subtracting from the total of "immigrant aliens" and "non-immigrant aliens" the "emigrant aliens" and the "non-emigrant aliens."

NOTE 4.—The Act of Feb. 5, 1917, excluded illiterates over 16 years of age with certain exceptions. The number of illiterates in 1917, over 14 years of age, was 35,510.

NOTE 5.—These figures are obtained by assuming that immigrant aliens under 16 years of age had no occupation and did not pay their own passage.

Largest Elements in Recent Immigration

1919

Mexican	28,884
English	26,889
French	12,598
Scotch	10,364
Japanese	10,056

1920

South Italian	84,882
English	58,366
Mexican	51,042
French	27,390
Spanish	23,594

Principal Causes of Debarment

	1919		1920	
Likely to become a public charge		3,994		5,297
Unable to read		1,455		1,639
Physically diseased	388		552	
Mentally diseased	141		208	
Physically or mentally defective	343	872	353	1,113
Criminals	261		355	
Immoral	135	396	205	560
Contract laborers		774		1,164
Total debarred		8,626		11,795

Remarks

The year 1920 shows a return toward pre-war conditions. This appears not only from the increase in the total volume, but in the falling off in Teutonic and Keltic races and the increase of Slavic, Iberic, and Semitic races, and in the smaller amount of money shown per capita. The prospects are for an unprecedented volume of immigration during the next few years, in which that of the record year 1907 (1,285,349) will be exceeded.

The inspection has apparently not been as efficient as during the years of smaller immigration, the percentage of debarred and returned

being less than one-half the average of 1918-19. The percentage of those debarred on appeal has also diminished.

Administrative fines were collected as follows:

For bringing illiterates	\$52,800 or in 264 cases
For bringing diseased and other inadmissible aliens	3,950

As 1,639 illiterates were debarred, and the fine is \$200 for each case, the number of fines appears very small.

The percentage of aliens certified as physically or mentally defective who were admitted has taken another jump to 87.6.

The temporary admission of agricultural laborers from Mexico continues in increasing numbers. Of the 50,852 thus admitted, 10,691, or over 20 per cent, have been lost track of and cannot be sent back. Much complaint has been made of the moral and social results of these admissions.

Attention is called to *The Rising Tide of Color* by Lothrop Stoddard (Scribner's, 1920).

The Johnson bill, H. R. 14,461, passed the House December 13, 1920 by a vote of 295 to 41. This bill suspends immigration for fourteen months except as to certain relatives of certain classes already here. Numerous other bills are pending in both Houses.

For other publications of this League, address the Immigration Restriction League, 11 Pemberton Sq., Boston, Mass. From the Immigration Bureau, Washington, D.C., can be obtained a pamphlet containing the immigration laws and regulations, and the last *Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration*.

This League is a non-partisan and non-sectarian organization, with members from all parts of the United States. Annual membership, one dollar a year; life membership, ten dollars in one payment with no annual dues. For membership address the League, 11 Pemberton Sq., Boston, Mass.

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Immigration and the World War

By PRESCOTT F. HALL¹

Secretary, Executive Committee, Immigration Restriction League, Boston

THE World War verified at least two things about immigration which had been previously asserted by experts, but doubted or ignored by the public. The latter knows very little about anthropology or the history of various past migrations; and its opinions are largely influenced by its local experience and by the articles and

news items in the newspapers, most of which are inspired by various interests, and which give usually a narrow and immediate rather than a long range point of view.

The first point proved by the war was that the immigration of a million aliens a year is not necessary to sustain the industries of this country. During the war, there was practically no immigration, and at the same time millions

¹ Author of: *Immigration and Its Effects on the United States* (1906, 1908).

of men were taken out of industry for the army and navy. It is true that production in many lines was curtailed; but in many others it was vastly extended. It is also true that to attract workers to the unattractive trades money wages, and in some cases real wages, were sharply reduced. But, in the long run, high wages are a good thing for a country if a fair day's work is given for them. If there had been a great general shortage of labor as a result of the war there would not even now be requests to the Division of Distribution of the Bureau of Immigration to stop sending aliens into various localities. Undoubtedly there was, for a time, a shortage of workers in certain places and certain industries. The newspaper reports of this were, however, undoubtedly exaggerated. We must remember that the ideal condition, from the point of view of some employers of cheap labor, is to have two men waiting for every job, in order to keep down wages. Such a condition results in an immense amount of unemployment and misery, and shows that labor which is economically cheap for the employer is seldom so cheap for the community.

The second point demonstrated by the war, and the most important one, was in regard to assimilation. A great deal of nonsense had been preached and swallowed whole by the people, to the effect that environment is all important and heredity of little account, in considering the effects of immigration. That falsest of all shibboleths "the melting-pot" had hypnotized statesmen and legislators. That inversion of Darwin's real teaching, which pronounced that survival indicated fitness for things other than mere survival, had permeated the public mind and made it careless of current changes and of the future.

Down to 1860, as Eliot Norton

pointed out in *THE ANNALS*,¹ the United States had begun to develop a definite national character based on well-known Nordic traits. The colonial population had consisted of picked specimens of Nordic races. The Irish immigration of 1846 contributed further Nordic strains; and, what is important to observe, the German emigration of 1848 was also Nordic, whereas the more recent German immigrants are largely Alpine. Things having gone so well down to 1860, the policy of the "open door" became fixed, in spite of the warnings of Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Madison and Franklin as to the danger of unguarded gates.

From 1860 and especially after 1880, the whole situation changed. In 1914, nearly three-quarters of all alien immigrants were Alpine, Mediterranean or Asiatic and only one-quarter Nordic. In other words, 863 thousand of those coming in that year were from races with a different historic background, different customs and different ideals. This change had been proceeding with increasing intensity for forty years.

Now the temperamental optimist, the social worker and the average citizen had insisted that in the new environment of America the alien rapidly changed into a "good American." When the evidence did not entirely bear this out, some said that although the alien might be assimilating us instead of our assimilating him, nevertheless this was a good thing, and that the mixture of conflicting types was a benefit.

The World War completely knocked out these cheerful conclusions by revealing that the superficial changes constituting "Americanization" were entirely inadequate to affect the hereditary tendencies of generations; and that a mixture of conflicting types and opinions seriously affected the capacity

¹ Vol. 24, p. 163 (July, 1904).

of the nation to think and to act as a unit.

Take first the hostile attitude of many of the immigrants from the Central Powers. Probably a large majority of those of German descent, especially of those descended from Germans coming before 1870, were loyal. But the term "German" as used in statistical publications is quite ambiguous. Dr. W. S. Sadler has pointed out¹ that in 1600 Germany was almost entirely Nordic. Then, owing to the Thirty Years' War and other wars, the Nordic element was largely killed off and its place taken by Slavic Alpines, so that in 1914, Germany was 90 per cent Alpine and only 10 per cent Nordic. This, in his opinion, accounts largely for the fact that the World War was fought on the German side so much more lawlessly and cruelly than was the War of 1870. The characteristics of the Nordic race are individual initiative, love of personal liberty, and a certain chivalry and sportsmanship. The Alpine and Mediterranean races on the other hand tend to centralization of authority, reliance upon the state, and in war to subservience and absence of moral quality. Another element, the Semitic, is largely international or racial in its interests.

The resistance to the draft law, whether from cowardice, indifference or conscientious objection revealed the difference in attitude between the earlier and the later immigration, and this again showed that apparent "Americanization" was built in many cases upon quicksand. The unanimous opinion of American and French observers was to the effect that those American regiments composed chiefly of Nordic stock or led by Nordic officers were by far the most valuable.

It is estimated that at the present time from 40 to 55 per cent of our pop-

ulation are still Nordic. It is also stated that at least ten million aliens of non-Nordic races are expected to come here at once. It is difficult to keep up for the next twenty years, it is easy to see that there were more than forty millions or more of non-Nordic races might come, utterly changing the balance of race stocks in this country. And, as everything depends upon the people who are here to do things, especially under universal suffrage, this would mean at the worst a profound change in our institutions and ideals, and at the best an ineffectiveness born of the mixture of diverse elements.

And still we do not learn the lesson. We forget that Egypt, Greece and Rome, as well as Chaldea, Phoenicia and Carthage, perished from the peaceful invasion of alien races.² Still we are led away from facing matters squarely by the red herrings of distribution of aliens and "Americanization." Neither distribution nor Americanization is possible while one or two millions of alien types are being poured into the country. I do not say that the aims and efforts of those engaged in the Americanization movement are wrong, but I maintain that the energy of many good men and a vast amount of money are being diverted from the only path by which success can be attained. I have no doubt also that they are encouraged by those who wish immigration left practically unrestricted. It has always been so in the past. Any important change in habits of thought and racial tendencies requires at least several generations. As I have said elsewhere,³ "you can not make bad stock into good by changing its meridian, any more than you can

² See an excellent historical survey by Charles W. Gould, *America, a Family Matter* (Scribners, 1920); see also, Alfred P. Schultz, *Race or Mongrel* (Ec. 1908).

¹ Sadler, W. S. *Long Heads and Round Heads*.

³ *Journal of Heredity*, X, No. 3, March, 1919.

turn a cart horse into a hunter by putting it into a fine stable, or make a mongrel into a fine dog by teaching it tricks." We must get away from the one-dimension, sentimental point of view that all men and all races are potentially equal, and from the two-dimensional economic view which considers man as merely a producing and a consuming animal, and face the truths of history and anthropology.

How much has "Americanization" changed the revolutionary communists in our large cities? How many more agitators are being allowed to come in today to make trouble in the future? They can not be detected by ordinary methods of inspection.

While immigration was at a low ebb and patriotic fervor was at its height during the war, there was a splendid chance to pass a stringent immigration law, even over a probable veto. We did nothing, as usual. It took twenty-six years to get the reading test into the law, although it is the most valuable restrictive clause we have. We are dallying with our future safety just at the time when, as Lothrop Stoddard so clearly shows,¹ there is a probability that the brown and yellow races of Asia will soon resume that western movement which was checked for a time by Charlemagne. Bolshevism is essentially such a movement of oriental Tartar tribes led by Asiatic Semites against Nordic *bourgeoisie*. Japan is arming. Before the war she was poor; now she is rich.² The next big war

may be in the Pacific. To prepare for that, indeed merely to maintain our present development, we need to become and to remain a strong, self-reliant, united country, with the only unity that counts, viz., that of race.

What, then, shall we do? Exclude the black, the brown and the yellow altogether; as to the white, favor the immigration of Nordic and Nordicized stocks. This will best be attained by limiting immigration from any country annually to a certain per cent of those from that country already naturalized here.³ Naturalization, when not artificially fostered, is one of the best tests of assimilability, and experience shows that it is the Nordic races that become naturalized. The effect in a year like 1914 under a 50 per cent limitation, would have been as follows:

	Actually admitted	Admissible under bill
Northern and Western Europe	189,177	1,090,500
Southern and Eastern Europe	945,288	279,288

In other words, the total European immigration would have been reduced 47 per cent by reducing that from southern and eastern Europe 71 per cent.

Some such measures as these are essential to the perpetuation of what the United States stands for, not only within its boundaries, but to the world at large.

¹ *The Rising Tide of Color*. (New York. Scribners, 1920.)

² See Thomas F. Millard, *The New Far East*, pp. 33-35; *Our Eastern Question*, p. 217.

³ This proposition is embodied in H. R. 10837 of the 66th Congress and in § 9 of H. R. 12320 introduced by the Chairman of the House Committee on Immigration Feb. 4, 1920.

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